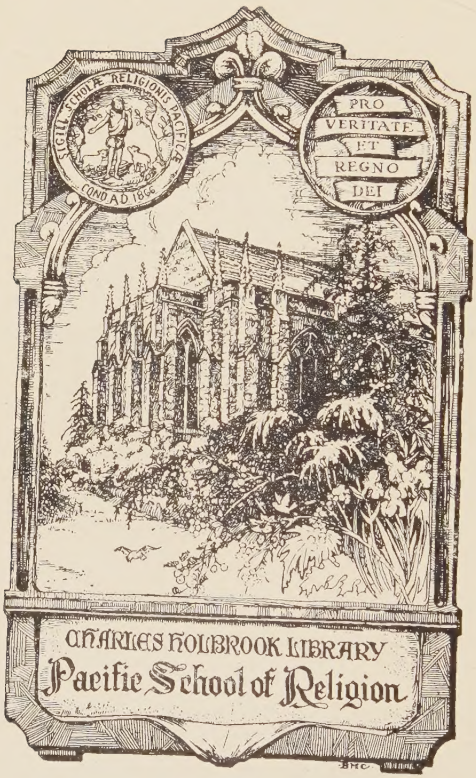

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The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President:
DR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice-Presidents:
HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE, Albany, N. Y.;
PROF. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, New York;
REV. DR. DAVID PHILIPSON, Cincinnati, O.;
CAPT. N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS, New York;
MAX J. KOHLER, New York.

Corresponding Secretary:
ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG, 38 Park Row, New York.

Recording Secretary:
SAMUEL OPPENHEIM, New York.

Treasurer:
HENRY S. HENDRICKS, New York.

Curator:
LEON HUHNER, New York.

Additional Members of the Executive Council:
(Term expiring with the 34th Annual Meeting.)
CHARLES J. COHEN, Philadelphia, Pa.;
DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, Washington, D. C.;
PROF. MAX L. MARGOLIS, Philadelphia, Pa.;
PROF. ALEXANDER MARX, New York.

(Term expiring with the 35th Annual Meeting.)
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REV. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, New York;
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LESSING J. ROSENWALD, Philadelphia, Pa.

(Term expiring with the 36th Annual Meeting.)
RABBI HENRY COHEN, Galveston, Texas;
REV. DR. ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN, Philadelphia, Pa.;
LEWIS L. STRAUSS, JR., New York;
MORRIS WOLF, Philadelphia, Pa.

HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, New York;
DR. CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia, Pa.;
ex-officio, as Past Presidents of the Society.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

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PREFACE.

This volume follows on the lines of its predecessors. Its preparation was entrusted to the following committee on publication: Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman; Dr. Cyrus Adler and Prof. Alexander Marx. The chairman is responsible for the translation of and the cross-references added to the paper by Mr. de Bethencourt, which appears in this volume. The Rosenbach bibliography, which still awaits issuance, will appear independently as No. 30 of the *Publications,* and it is confidently expected that its publication will occur within a very brief interval.

The paper by Mr. Kohler dates from the Newark, N. J., meeting of 1919. The paper by Mr. Oppenheim was presented at the meeting of 1922, held in New York. Mr. Davidson submitted his paper to the Washington meeting of 1923. The papers by Messrs. de Bethencourt, Philipson, and Huhner were read at the meeting held at Philadelphia in 1924.

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THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING.

The thirtieth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 531 West 123d Street, in the city of New York. It began in the evening of Saturday, April 29, 1922, continued in the afternoon of Sunday, April 30, 1922, and concluded in the evening of the latter day. After the close of the meeting a social hour afforded opportunity for informal conversation.

The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair and the recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, acted as secretary of the meeting. The annual address of the president[1] was presented at the concluding session.

The officers presented their annual reports. Mr. Friedenberg's reads as follows:

As corresponding secretary I make the following report of the work of my office to the thirtieth annual meeting. It covers the period from February 22, 1921, to this date.

On October 26, 1921, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, President, appointed the following committees: On publication: Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman; Prof. Alexander Marx, and Dr. Cyrus Adler. On finance: Henry S. Hendricks, chairman; Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Lee M. Friedman, and Dr. Cyrus Adler. On publication of the Taft address: Max J Kohler, chairman; Lee M. Friedman, and Prof. Max L. Margolis. On Jewish bibliographies: Prof. Alexander Marx, chairman; Max J. Kohler, Leon Huhner, and Prof. Max L. Margolis. On local arrangements for the thirtieth annual meeting: Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman; Henry S. Hendricks, Leon Huhner, Prof. Alexander Marx, and Capt. N. Taylor Phillips. From the last-named committee Mr. Huhner subsequently withdrew.

[1] See *infra*, p. 1 *et seq.*

As the delegate from this Society to the American Jewish Committee the president appointed Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, and as our delegates to the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, convening in Philadelphia, May 12th and 13th next, he named Dr. Cyrus Adler, Prof. Max L. Margolis, and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

Publication No. 28 has just made its appearance. The Rosenbach bibliography still awaits issuance.

The Executive Council elected Mr. Chief Justice William Howard Taft, of the Supreme Court of the United States, to honorary membership of the Society. Under date of November 7, 1921, he wrote the corresponding secretary, as follows:

> I have your kind letter of November 4th, in which you advise me that I have been unanimously elected an honorary member of the American Jewish Historical Society. I thank the Society for the honor done me, and gratefully accept it.

Again it is my pleasant duty to report that the number of our members has substantially increased, due to the unremitting efforts made by several members of our Executive Council, especially our President, to obtain additional supporters for our work. Year after year, during what must now be regarded as a considerable tenure of my office, I have reported gains in our membership roll. When I was elected corresponding secretary for the first time in 1910 the total membership of the Society, including honorary, corresponding and life members, was about three hundred, in fact, somewhat less than this. To-day it is well above four hundred, and the five-hundred mark is in sight.

On February 22, 1921, we bore thirty-seven corresponding and three hundred and eighty-nine regular members, including patrons, on our roll. To-day our membership embraces four hundred and forty-four persons: one honorary, thirty-six corresponding, and four hundred and seven regular members, including patrons. During the period which is covered by my report the changes in our membership were as follows: One corresponding and thirteen regular members died; and nine regular members resigned. On the other hand one honorary, and forty new regular members were elected.

The curator, Mr. Huhner, submitted his report,[2] and the treasurer, Mr. Hendricks, reported for the fiscal year, October 1, 1920, to October 1, 1921. The latter report was referred to Joseph L. Buttenwieser and Dr. Lee K. Frankel, of New York, as an auditing committee. It reads as follows:

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[2] See p. xxxix *et seq.*

REPORT OF TREASURER.

General Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Members' dues and back dues	$2,041.25

EXPENSES.

Balance due to treasurer, October 1, 1920	$469.91
Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office	559.00
Fire insurance premiums	25.85
Expenses 29th annual meeting	42.50
Disbursements, president's and treasurer's offices, printing, etc.	152.63
Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee	363.61
Engrossing address	50.00
Exchanges, National City Bank	2.50
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1921	375.25
	$2,041.25

Publication Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1920	$696.76
Sales of Publications	120.20
From fund in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y.	1,200.00
From fund in New York Life Insurance & Trust Co	1,136.11
Balance due treasurer, October 1, 1921	325.78
	$3,478.85

EXPENSES.

The Lord Baltimore Press, *Publication* No. 27	$3,478.85

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

General Fund.

Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y.	$828.83
Plus balance due general fund by publication fund	325.78
	$1,154.61

Publication Fund.

Balance in National City Bank of New York	$49.47
Less balance due general fund by publication fund as above.	325.78
	$276.31

As a committee on nominations Levi Hershfield, A. S. Freidus and Prof. Israel Davidson, all of New York, were appointed by the chair. Their report was presented at the second session and, in accordance therewith, the following officers and additional members of the executive council were elected, viz.:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; Captain N. Taylor Phillips, New York; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New York; recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, New York; treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks, New York; curator, Leon Huhner, New York. Additional members of the Executive Council (for a term of three years, expiring with the thirty-third annual meeting of the Society): Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Tex.; Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were read at this session: Abraham Blum, by Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman; Herman A. Brav; Gotthard Deutsch, by Prof. Max L. Margolis; Perry Frankel, by Dr. Cyrus Adler; J. Walter Freiberg, by Rev. Dr. David Philipson; Morris Jastrow, Jr., by Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil; John W. Jordan, by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach; Rudolph Levi, by Felix Fuld; L. Napoleon Levy, by Captain N. Taylor Phillips; Minnie D. Louis, by Lee Kohns; Bernard A. Palitz, by Max J. Kohler; Abraham Rothschild, by Felix Fuld.

The following papers were read:

"'Moses His Judicials' and 'The Body of Liberties,'" by Rabbi Louis I. Newman.

"Mosaic Law and Common Law in Early New England," by Richard B. Morris.

"Note on Jacob Barsimson, the First Jewish Settler in New York," by Samuel Oppenheim.

"Isaac Harby, Jewish Religious Leader and Man of Letters," by Max J. Kohler.

"The Taxing of the Jews in Jamaica in the Seventeenth Century," by Frank Cundall.

"Places of Jewish Historical Interest in Old New York," by Dr. Harold Korn, illustrated with radiopticon views.

"The Attitude of the Late Cardinal Gibbons toward Problems Affecting Jews," by Rev. Dr. William Rosenau.

"The Jews, the Protestant Episcopal Minister and the Poor in Colonial New York," by Samuel Oppenheim.

"The Jewish Woman," by Rabbi David B. Swiren.

"Jewish Population Statistics," by Dr. Harry S. Linfield.

"The Hand Symbol in Aboriginal America and Primitive Palestine," by Walter Hart Blumenthal.

"The Story of Sholem," by Gabriel Davidson.

"Is the Cemetery in the New Bowery on the Site Granted by the Dutch in New York in 1656?" by Samuel Oppenheim.

"A New History of the Jews," by Dr. Israel Abrahams.

"Early American Portraits of Jewish Men and Women, II," by Miss Hannah R. London.

"Some Biographical Material Relating to Solomon Schechter," by Frank I. Schechter.

"The Spanish Argument for the Jewish Origin of Columbus," by Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman.

The following papers were read by title:

"The Jews as American Railroad Financiers, with Special Reference to Jacob H. Schiff," by Albert M. Friedenberg.

"A Note on the Military Career of Benjamin Rosenberg," by Julius Goldburg.

"Jean de Bloch (I. S. Blioch), Champion of International Disarmament, Advocate of Russian Jewish Emancipation and Worker for Russian Economic Development," by Max J. Kohler and the late Bernard A. Palitz.

"Grace Seixas and Her Descendants," by Mrs. Walter M. Kraus.

"American Jewish Communal Activities in 1860," by Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer.

"Jewish Merchants in Louisiana and West Florida, and the English Expedition to the Illinois in 1764-65," by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

"Notes from the Will of Mordecai Marks, Early Connecticut Merchant, and Genealogical Data Regarding Him and His Family," by Charles H. Shapiro.

At the concluding session the president presented, on behalf of the Society, an illuminated address to Dr. Cyrus Adler, immediate past president, and accompanied it with remarks expressive of the Society's appreciation of the latter's work as its executive officer for the period of twenty-two years. Dr. Adler made a fitting response. The address presented to Dr. Adler, reads, as follows:

TESTIMONIAL ON THE RETIREMENT OF DR. CYRUS ADLER FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1921.

It was with keen regret that the American Jewish Historical Society yielded to the wishes of Dr. Cyrus Adler to retire from the Presidency, a position which he had graced for nearly a quarter of a century. We all realized at the time, that his decision was due not to any abatement of interest, but because in addition to his responsibilities as the head of two great institutions of learning, additional duties had come to him in connection with momentous Jewish problems, and that his time and energy were required in this important field.

The Council, however, cannot let this opportunity pass, without recording its deep appreciation of Dr. Adler's great service throughout that long period, not merely as its executive officer, but also in stimulating and aiding intelligent and accurate research in the field of American Jewish history, and in bringing to light the contributions made by the Jew to our country in times of peace and war.

His annual addresses, his encouragement of co-workers, his constant efforts to secure original material, and to interest in our work scholars and friends of learning in all parts of the world, have indeed been an important factor in collecting that large mass of valuable data, contained in the twenty-five volumes of our publications, which will prove of important service to the historian of the future.

The members of the Council are therefore happy to record their gratitude for Dr. Adler's unselfish service for so many years, their admiration for his achievements, their sentiments of sincere friend-

ship, and above all, their pleasure that he has consented to remain their colleague on this board, which assures us that, as his time permits, they will continue to have the benefit of his wise counsel and co-operation.

The Council of the
American Jewish Historical Society:
A. S. W. Rosenbach,
President.

Attest:
Albert M. Friedenberg,
Secretary.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were formally extended to the directors of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for permitting the thirtieth annual meeting to be held on their premises.

An exhibition of the Society's collections arranged by the curator, was an interesting and notable attraction of this meeting.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

The thirty-first annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the New Willard Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue, Fourteenth and F Streets, Northwest, in the city of Washington. It began in the evening of Saturday, May 5, 1923, continued in the afternoon of Sunday, May 6, 1923, and concluded in the evening of the latter day.

A collation and pleasant social hour brought the work of the first session to a close.

The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair, and the recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, acted as secretary of the meeting.

At the outset of the meeting Frederic William Wile formally welcomed the Society to the National Capital. Thereupon, the president presented his annual address which reads, as follows:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome the friends and members of the American Jewish Historical Society to the thirty-first annual meeting. There is no more appropriate place for the gathering than the city of Washington with its great historical associations and the centre of our national life. The American Jewish Historical Society is a national organization, with members in almost every state in the Union. The Presidents of the United States from Washington to Mr. Harding without a single exception have expressed their interest in the welfare of the Jews in this country. The letters of Washington to the various congregations in New York, in Philadelphia, in Savannah bear eloquent witness of his broad sympathy and regard. If we peruse the correspondence of Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant and Roosevelt we note many expressions of their interest in our history, our development and our aims.

The publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, which now fill almost thirty volumes, contain some but by no means all of the letters of the Presidents which are addressed to Jewish institutions, civil, religious and charitable bodies, to soldiers in the field, to

private persons. It would be a wise and enduring thing, if this society would collect and publish all the material which deals with the relations of the Presidents with the Jewish people. It is now my privilege to add another, and to read to you in the city of Washington, the following letter from Mr. Harding:

THE WHITE HOUSE.

WASHINGTON, April 13, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. FRIEDENBERG:

When I first received, two or three months ago, your most kind invitation to meet with the members of the American Jewish Historical Society at the time of their gathering in Washington, I entertained the hope that events might so shape themselves that my acceptance would be possible. I was, therefore, unwilling to make a final answer. I find now that as affairs have taken shape it will be impossible for me to make such an engagement and I am writing to express my thanks once more, and with them my regrets. I have noticed with much interest the outline of the program you have sent to me, and wish to express my judgment that it represents the opportunity for a valuable contribution to the story of the great Jewish participation in the making of our common country. It is one of the finest chapters in our national history and I am particularly gratified that your society is taking such effective steps to insure that it will properly be written and preserved.

Most sincerely yours,

WARREN G. HARDING.

MR. ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG,
American Jewish Historical Society,
38 Park Row, New York City.

We have the pleasure of having with us Israel Abrahams, one of the greatest historical scholars of England. At the previous meeting of this organization held in New York a year ago, a paper written by him was read, in which he advocated the publication of a plan for a definite history of the Jews to be compiled under the direction of the Jewish historical societies of England and America. When I was in London in February, I had the good fortune to meet the officials of the Jewish Historical Society of England and to learn that they were deeply interested in the project.

The time has now arrived for us to consider the publication of a history of the Jews of America. I mean nothing hasty or expedient, but one based on careful and deliberate scholarship, the work to be undertaken by trained students. It would be well for us to consider at the present time the plan for such an undertaking. This, like Dr. Abrahams' more ambitious project, would take several years to evolve. The most eminent scholars in science, in economics, in civil, religious and political history should be asked to contribute. Those already familiar with our early annals would have many valuable suggestions to make to the committee of historians who would undertake this important work. The plan of such a history is almost as important as the history itself.

So far the work of the American Jewish Historical Society has been disconnected. The many valuable papers read at the meetings of the society, although important contributions, were never presented with a definite plan in view. Each member has read a paper on the subject dearest to his heart, in which he personally was most interested. Of course, every scrap of original material is of the utmost value, but I think in the future papers should be presented upon a definite plan for a far greater undertaking. The various states and cities should be considered and members asked to make investigations along a definite line. I know this project demands much consideration and thought, but the time has now arrived when the world calls for a history of the Jews of America, and it should not be disappointed. The ablest students in this and other countries are members of this society and I know of no other organization in which the work could be better accomplished. The stately array of our publications exhibits better than anything else the intellectual equipment of our members for this noble task, and there is no time like the present for carrying it into effect. Of course, this will mean the expenditure of great sums of money, for the work must be underwritten before it can be safely launched. At a recent meeting of the Council of the American Jewish Historical Society it was determined to make an appeal for funds to carry out our plans, and next October a campaign will be inaugurated with this high purpose in view. It is absolutely necessary to have a suitable building to store our precious records, to house the many documents and relics which are already in the possession of the society. Money is needed to copy and transcribe archives, to purchase articles of American Jewish interest when they are offered at public and private sale and to place this material at the service of the public. It is hoped that everyone, whether a member of the society or not, will take an active and sympathetic interest in this appeal.

It is proposed to dedicate this new edifice, which will be the perpetual home of the American Jewish Historical Society, to the members of our faith, who gave up their lives in the Great War, and no more fitting memorial could be suggested for their great sacrifice. They made history. It is our task to record it in a simple and truthful manner.

The society has learned with the deepest sorrow of the death of Mayer Sulzberger, a member of the Council almost since the foundation of the organization. His great vision, his erudite scholarship, his historical acumen were always at our service. For many years he faithfully attended the meetings of the Council and his advice was of the greatest value. He was always interested in our work, and being a collector of the rarest judgment he frequently made important dona-

tions to our archives. In the death of Judge Sulzberger the society has lost one who was esteemed not only for his learning and singular ability, but for that wonderful sympathy that attracted all scholars to him.

I wish at this time to thank the local committee for the arrangements for this meeting. I hope their work will not be in vain and that the papers that will be read will prove of interest to you and will reward you for your efforts. Members and friends, Welcome!

Dr. Israel Abrahams, past president of The Jewish Historical Society of England, followed with an address of this tenor:

The circumstances of my visit to America have left me no opportunity to prepare an address worthy of this occasion. But neither leisure of time nor resource of library was needed for rehearsal of my main theme—to convey to you, on behalf of our English society, a message of gratitude for your consistent friendship. Your establishment preceded ours, but we are practically of the same age. Throughout the thirty years or so of our joint life, there has been between us an uninterrupted cordiality, which we have greatly valued, as I believe you have valued it.

How should it be otherwise? Jewish history at least has this virtue: it welds together spiritually groups divided nationally. Steadfast endurance of like experiences under the impulse of like ideals is the heroic basis of this union. But with English-speaking communities the historical bond is exceptionally close. The Jewish communities of England and America were, the one refounded the other founded, in the identical year 1655. For a century and more the two communities were even under the self-same flag. The communal organizations, it is true, developed differently. England, after Edward I, has ever had a centralized government, with London exerting a controlling influence. Against the disadvantage of local backwardness may be set the boon of general cohesion. This has gone on to our own time. In America, the disturbance due to varying state laws has been compensated by the profit of local autonomy. Now the Anglo-Jewish and the American Jewish communities reflect this difference. In England Jews are too strongly centralized, in America too weakly. But the difference is passing. Your magnificent national associations are supplying the unity you lacked; our own tentative local determinations are providing the individuality that was wanting to us.

The likeness between us is, however, more essential than this difference might suggest. Our likeness is due to a single historical

fact. I leave out the case of the Jews in the pre-expulsion period. That period is interesting to a student of medievalism, and our English society (I am sure you will agree) does well to examine and publish the medieval records, which illustrate with unparalleled amplitude the economic status of a Jewish community in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But modern Anglo-Jewry has no organic connection whatever with the medieval Anglo-Jewry. Nothing done before 1290 left the slightest mark on what was done after 1655. Not a single institution of the medieval past functions in the modern present. The notion, for instance, that there was in Angevin England a Chief-Rabbinate must be relegated to the lumber-room of myth. Moyses Hall, in Bury St. Edmunds, was most probably not a synagogue. Besides the myriad documents of the Jewish Exchequer, and a MS. of a prayer-book, a few stone houses in Lincoln alone remain to remind us of the Norman Jewries. No, there's one thing more. The ruined keep, known as Clifford's Tower, still preserves the glorious memory of the martyrdom of the Jews of York in the reign of Richard I.

But, in all vital concerns, both you and we began anew in a new epoch. We two differ from other Jewish settlements just where we two agree with each other. Neither of us ever endured an enforced ghetto. Neither of us passed through the feudal stage. The English Jews were exiled in 1290 when feudalism still prevailed. They returned when commercialism, later on industrialism, replaced feudalism. The same is true of you. American Jews did not pass through the feudal stage at all. Compare this with the case of the Jews of Poland, and you will assent to the conclusion that our two communities had an advantage, peculiar to the two, of finding a natural place in the national life. There was no such place for the Jew in the feudal state, there was such a place for him in the industrial state. Except that the presence of the Jews in England before 1290, and their expulsion in 1290, actually helped forward the overthrow of feudalism, as is now becoming clearer, the earlier settlement of the Jews in England had no influence on the status of the Jews in England and America after 1655. Our two communities were established in a world safe for the Jew.

For this reason it has been argued, and I think truly argued, that anti-Semitism can never gain a strangle-hold on our two countries. The strength of both countries derives not from a terrestrial or militarist aristocracy, but from a commercial and industrial middle-class, to which the Jews chiefly belong. It is this fact that makes England and America, and must eventually make other countries, secure against discriminative prejudice. No fanaticism, however inconvenient, can prevail against the fundamental social as well as

economic equality of English and American Jews with the mass of their fellow-citizens. We are both ready to add another count to the credit side. We are anxious, we are entitled to believe, that while they do not monopolize the Hebrew ideal that justice exalts a nation, yet these two countries of ours are endowed with a double portion of the spirit of that ideal. Herein again lies safety. The Jew is safe in a just environment; he is inspired by it to increase its power for good. No other means is so efficient for proving ourselves English, yourselves American, as the promotion of the idealism which the world owes to the Hebrew prophets, and which our countries have, we are fain to hope, adopted as the basis of their national ambitions.

Thus our two societies are bound together by certain historical factors in the national characters. History, paradoxically enough, is a stronger bond than contemporary experience. I can illustrate this by a clear piece of evidence. A Jewish year-book is published in America, another in England. But we have little use for your year-book, you little use for ours. A few years pass, and historians on both sides of the Atlantic find the local records raw material for research. When they have become histories they have a value which they did not possess as annals. The locally obsolete becomes the historically fertile. Sometimes the immediate present helps us to understand the past. When, in the South African War, small bands of Boers resisted large English armies, new credibility was cast on Judas Maccabeus' similar successes against the Syrian hosts. In both cases the possession of inner lives was the clue. But such instances are rare. How can it be said that the past invariably helps the present? The Greek Polybius thought it did; so did the Jewish author of the Letter of Aristeas. Both conceived that acquaintance with former crises helped the situation of current emergencies. Unfortunately, history does not operate with this naive pragmatism. If it did, we should convert all men into historians, and this society and its English sister would number its adherents by thousands instead of hundreds. History does not act in so assured a way. Napoleon was a student of the military history of Palestine; but he was foiled at Acre and ruined by his effort to repeat Alexander's example. Against this we may set Allenby. He tells us definitely of his historical studies, how these studies helped him to achieve success and attain his objective. History helped Allenby to avoid the blunders of his predecessors; it did not help Napoleon to imitate his predecessors' successes.

One moral, however, Jewish history does convey to us for present use. It warns us against the dangers of disunion in matters where union is essential. I need not labor my point. History is the great

tent-maker. It teaches us to regret our differences and recognize how ephemeral they were; to applaud our agreements and read them *sub specie aeternitatis*. Here our two societies have a patent duty. It was not enough for English Jews before the 80's, and for American Jews after the 80's, to take the lead in relief of the persecuted and enfranchisement of the unemancipated. This is great and noble, and necessary work. But we have to do something more. We have to re-tell the history of the Jews so as to make our future loyalties secure. The nearer all Jews are to freedom, the more they need the stimulus of history to instruct them if not how to use that freedom, at all events to expound the ideals for which Jews have stood, which freedom renders possible of development. Now, the very union of our two societies, rendered alike by conditions unlike the conditions of other Jewries, must make us the readier to recognize the likeness between us and other Jewries. We cannot either of us be content with compiling local histories.

Local happenings are not, of course, unimportant. They show us two things clearly. Nothing but local patriotism makes the study of local records possible. And yet, your society by relating minutely the stories of individuals and congregations is providing material for a history of America, as well as of American Jewry. I hold in my hand the letter of a Cambridge historian, a Christian colleague of mine, who has just written to me thanking me for introducing him to your long and valuable series of publications. He is writing on the fascinating topic of pioneer adventure in this country, and he assures me that he is now able to add intimate touches, which he could derive from no other source. The same is true of us. We recorded the romance of Marranism as an episode in Anglo-Jewish history, and Gardiner used our results in picturing Cromwell's England.

In the second place, our local histories have this value: they prove that Jews have earned rather than claimed rights. Civic service with us both, certainly with us in England, preceded civic equality. We do not shrink from this test of service.

Do the Jews of the whole world shrink from this test? Are they afraid lest the verdict of history condemn them? Because we English-speaking Jews believe in the common virtues of all our brother-Jews, because we believe that in so far as we have any superiority it arises out of fuller opportunity rather than out of higher merit, because in short we believe that the general history of the Jews will set Jews right with themselves and the world,—for these reasons our societies are planning a comprehensive history of our people. I do not mean that we are so optimistic as to expect that we can do more than formulate a scheme. We must leave its fulfilment for later consideration. Nor do I mean that we design an apologetic history. We should

aim at as objective a presentation as possible: avoiding extenuation on our side and protesting against malice on the other side. But we should be false to our confidence in the Jewish record did we doubt the verdict. The new history of the Jews cannot but prove our worth. Let the new history, if it will, demonstrate that we *were* better than we think ourselves; it may perhaps persuade others that we *are* better than they think us. In either case, our history will be a genuine effort to arrive at the truth, while we confidently anticipate that the truth will portray our place among the permanent forces of a progressive civilization.

The officers presented their annual reports. Mr. Friedenberg's reads, as follows:

As corresponding secretary I make the following report of the work of my office to the thirty-first annual meeting. It covers the period from April 30, 1922, to this date.

Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, president, made the following appointments:

Committee on Israel Abrahams' communication respecting a new history of the Jews: Prof. Alexander Marx, chairman; Profs. Richard Gottheil and Max L. Margolis, and Albert M. Friedenberg. The committee held a meeting with Dr. Abrahams on February 7, 1923.

Committee on program for the thirty-first annual meeting: Max J. Kohler, chairman; Leon Huhner, Albert M. Friedenberg and Profs. Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx.

Committee on local arrangements for the same: Rev. Dr. Abram Simon, chairman; Dr. Cyrus Adler, Emile Berliner, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Simon Lyon, Frederic William Wile and Hon. Simon Wolf.

The address of the president at the thirtieth annual meeting has been printed and distributed as a pamphlet in connection with this annual meeting. The Rosenbach bibliography, still awaiting issuance, is now measurably complete and should appear in the course of the next few weeks. Work has been started on the next volume, No. 29, of our series. This will be composed of papers, notes and necrologies and may be expected to appear with all convenient speed.

I have the pleasure to report that the number of our supporters has again increased. Due to the activity in this behalf of several of our officers the ravages necessarily caused to our membership through death, resignation and dropping for non-payment of dues have more than been counteracted.

The state of the Society's membership on April 30, 1922, was, as follows: Four hundred and forty-four members, one honorary, thirty-six corresponding, and four hundred and seven regular members,

including patrons and such as chose to become life members. Since then the following losses occurred: ten members died, six resigned, and two were dropped for non-payment of their dues. On the other hand thirty-five new members were elected. Consequently, we number to-day four hundred and sixty-one members: one honorary, thirty-six corresponding, and four hundred and twenty-four regular members.

The curator, Mr. Huhner, submitted his report,[1] and the treasurer, Mr. Hendricks, reported for the fiscal year, October 1, 1921, to October 1, 1922. The latter report was referred to Joseph L. Buttenwieser and Dr. Lee K. Frankel, of New York, as an auditing committee. It reads, as follows:

REPORT OF TREASURER.

General Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer October 1, 1921	$375.25
Members' dues and back dues	1,987.50
Overpayment in exchange account	.02
	$2,362.77

EXPENSES.

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office	$622.50
Fire insurance premiums	11.00
Expenses 30th annual meeting	113.50
Disbursements, treasurer's office	62.50
Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee	234.05
Subscription to Writings on American History	25.00
Exchanges, National City Bank	3.90
Balance with treasurer October 1, 1922	1,290.32
	$2,362.77

Publication Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Sales of publications	$68.95
Balance due treasurer October 1, 1922	1,256.83
	$1,325.78

[1] See p. xl *et seq.*

EXPENSES.

Balance due treasurer October 1, 1921	$325.78
The Lord Baltimore Press, *Publication* No. 28	1,000.00
	$1,325.78

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Contribution	$100.00

EXPENSES.

Investigation by Samuel Oppenheim into early history of Jews of New York	$50.00
Balance with treasurer October 1, 1922	50.00
	$100.00

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y.	$866.00
Plus balance due general fund by publication fund	1,256.83
	$2,122.83

PUBLICATION FUND.

Balance in National City Bank of New York	$83.49
Less balance due general fund by publication fund as above	1,256.83
	$1,173.34

As a committee to nominate officers and members of the executive council the president appointed Frederic William Wile, of Washington, D. C., Henry S. Hendricks, of New York, and Rabbi Lee J. Levinger, of Wilmington, Delaware. Their report was presented at the second session as a result of which the following were elected, viz.:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Hon. Julian W. Mack, Captain N. Taylor Phillips; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg;

recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim; treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks; curator, Leon Huhner. Additional members of the executive council (for a term of three years, expiring with the thirty-fourth annual meeting): Charles J. Cohen, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Prof. Max L. Margolis, Prof. Alexander Marx; (for a term of two years, expiring with the thirty-third annual meeting, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Mayer Sulzberger): Lewis L. Strauss, Jr.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were read at this session: Israel Cowen; Mrs. Henry L. Frank; Edward Lauterbach; Philip Stein; Harris Weinstock, by Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer.

The following papers were read:

"The Jewish University Idea in Early American Jewish Education," by Rabbi Louis I. Newman.

"An Essay on Jewish Physicians in Spain," and "Portuguese Jewish Physicians, with an Exhibit of Some of Their Works," by Dr. Harry Friedenwald.

"An Estimate of Baltimore's Jewish Population," by B. H. Hartogensis.

"The American Jew in the World War: A Personal and Statistical Study," by Rabbi Lee J. Levinger.

"Rodrigo Pacheco, a Leading Jewish Merchant in Colonial New York," by Samuel Oppenheim.

"A Note on Rebecca Gratz and Gratz Van Rensselaer," by Mrs. Walter M. Kraus.

"Note on Mordecai Campanell," by Wilfred S. Samuel.

"Our Young," by Rabbi David B. Swiren.

"The Old Fancy That Ophir Was in the New World," by Walter Hart Blumenthal.

"The Jews of Dutch Brazil," by Albert M. Friedenberg.

"Columbus and the Jews," by Leon Huhner.

"Aaron Aaronsohn, Agricultural Explorer," by Gabriel Davidson and Max J. Kohler.

"The Palestine Colony in Michigan," by Gabriel Davidson.

The following papers were read by title:

"Recollections of Early Days in New Mexico, and the Beginning of Temple Albert of Albuquerque," by Rabbi Raphael Goldenstein and Nathan Bibo.

"Pioneer Types in Louisiana and Mississippi," by Rabbi Max Heller.

"Sir William Johnson and His Relations to Colonial Jews," by Leon Huhner.

"A List of Wills of Jews in the British West Indies, Proved Before 1800," and "The Supposed Disfranchisement of the Jews in New York After the Contested Election for Representative in 1737: A History," by Samuel Oppenheim.

"The Use of Hebrew Type in American Colonial Publications," by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

"Jewish Pioneers Along the Mexican Border," and "Jewish Immigration to Mexico as a Result of the World War," by Rabbi Martin Zielonka.

On motion, it was voted that the president and the corresponding secretary express the deep regret of the Society at the death of Mayer Sulzberger, who passed away at his home in Philadelphia on April 20, 1923. Pursuant to this vote the following memorial was sent to Joseph E. Sulzberger, the brother of the deceased:

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1923.

The American Jewish Historical Society learned of the death of Hon. Mayer Sulzberger with deep regret.

Judge Sulzberger was for nearly thirty years an active and interested member of the Executive Council of this Society. He was not only assiduous in his attendance of the meetings of the Council and the Society until his declining years; he was interested in the work which the Society undertook to carry out as well as in the purposes for which it was created.

No call upon his rich stores of wise advice was made in vain. He contributed of his means to the Society's first funds and to the collection which made possible the publication of the valuable Lyons papers.

But Judge Sulzberger aided the Society in other avenues of usefulness, too. He communicated to one of its early annual meetings a suggestive paper dealing with the Jewish pioneers of Pennsylvania, and absolved with wisdom and conscientious fidelity the many calls—especially of recent years—to write memoirs of such deceased members as had preceded his own answer to the final inevitable call.

We mourn his loss; take him for all in all we ne'er shall look upon his like again.

These resolutions were authorized by the members convened at the thirty-first annual meeting of the Society, Washington, D. C., May 6, 1923.

A. S. W. Rosenbach,
President.

Albert M. Friedenberg,
Corresponding Secretary.

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The thirty-second annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Broad and York Streets, in the city of Philadelphia. It began in the evening of Saturday, May 24, 1924, continued in the morning and concluded in the afternoon of Sunday, May 25, 1924. At the end of the first session a collation, in charge of a committee of ladies, gave opportunity for the members present to meet informally and to view the exhibition of early documents and archives of the Congregation Mikve Israel of Philadelphia, arranged by a committee and the president, as a feature of this meeting.

The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, presided, and the recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, was the secretary of the meeting. The president's annual address was delivered at the first session.

It was announced that Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, senior vice-president, had presented the sum of one thousand dollars to the permanent fund of the Society in memory of his wife, the late Helen C. Rosendale, and that the president had made a gift of one hundred dollars to the Society in furtherance of research.

The officers presented their annual reports. Mr. Friedenberg reported as corresponding secretary that on this date the Society counted 469 supporters: 1 honorary and 35 corresponding members; 433 patrons, life and annual members. Since the preceding annual meeting 1 corresponding and 9 annual members died and 7 annual members had resigned. On the other hand 25 new annual members had been duly elected.

The curator, Mr. Huhner, submitted his report.[1] Mr. Hen-

[1] See p. xlii *et seq.*

dricks' report as treasurer covered the fiscal year, October 1, 1922, to October 1, 1923. It was referred to Joseph L. Buttenwieser and Dr. Lee K. Frankel, of New York, as an auditing committee, and reads, as follows:

REPORT OF TREASURER.

General Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1922	$1,290.32
Members' dues and back dues	2,011.56
Loan from A. S. W. Rosenbach	500.00
	$3,801.88

EXPENSES.

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office	$885.00
Fire insurance premiums	10.89
Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee	166.50
Disbursements, treasurer's office	45.05
Printing membership blanks	7.50
Disbursements, curator	114.56
Printing address of president at 30th annual meeting and printing programs of 31st annual meeting	62.00
Exchanges, service charges, National City Bank	10.80
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1923	2,499.58
	$3,801.88

Publication Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Sales of publications	$202.75
Balance due treasurer, October 1, 1923	2,263.23
	$2,465.98

EXPENSES.

Balance due treasurer, October 1, 1922	$1,256.83
The Lord Baltimore Press, *Publication* No. 28	1,209.15
	$2,465.98

Research Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1922 and 1923.....	$50.00

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

General Fund.

Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y.....	$752.01
Balance due general fund by publication fund.....	2,263.23
	$3,015.24

Publication Fund.

Balance in National City Bank of New York.....	$286.35
Less balance due general fund by publication fund as above..	2,263.23
	$1,976.88

Dr. Charles S. Bernheimer and Leon Huhner, of New York, and Rev. L. H. Elmaleh, of Philadelphia, were appointed by the chair as a committee on nominations and presented their report, as such, at the final session. In accordance therewith, the following were unanimously elected, viz.:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, Ohio; Capt. N. Taylor Phillips, New York; Max J. Kohler, New York; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New York; recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, New York; treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks, New York; curator, Leon Huhner, New York. Additional members of the Executive Council (for a term of three years, expiring with the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Society): Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Rev. George Alexander Kohut, New York; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; Lessing J. Rosenwald, Philadelphia, Pa. Additional member of the Executive Council (for a term of one year, expiring with the thirty-third annual meeting of the

Society), to fill the vacancy created by the death of Simon Wolf: Morris Wolf, Philadelphia, Pa.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were read at this meeting: Charles Eisenman; Abraham S. Freidus, by Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil; Jane Friedenwald, by Albert Berney; Daniel P. Hays, by Rabbi Louis I. Newman; Louis H. Levin, by Dr. Harry Friedenwald; Martin A. Meyer, by Rabbi Louis I. Newman; Samuel Snellenburg, by Adolph Eichholz; Mayer Sulzberger, by Prof. Alexander Marx; Simon Wolf, by Max J. Kohler; Louis I. Waldman, by Hon. Simon W. Rosendale.

The following papers were read:

"The Portuguese Inquisition of 1730 with Special Reference to John da Costa, Sometime Commissary-General of Portugal," by Miss Rosebud Lotta Teschner.

"Some Unpublished Letters of Rebecca Gratz," by Rev. Dr. David Philipson.

"The Earliest Jewish Settlers in Utah," by Dr. Leon L. Watters.

"Dante: His Jewish Connections and Supposed Jewish Origin," by Dr. Arthur K. Kuhn.

"Benjamin Franks, Merchant, and Captain Kidd, Pirate," by Samuel Oppenheim.

"The Jewish Population of Cities in the United States," by Dr. Charles S. Bernheimer.

"Religious and Racial Prejudice in America: An Historical and Psychological Analysis, with Special Reference to the Jews," by Dr. Harold Korn.

"The Jews of North Carolina Prior to 1800," by Leon Huhner.

"Nahman Passi, a Sixteenth-Century Turkish Statesman," by Harold Berman.

"The Attitude of Innocent III Toward the Jews, as Shown in Some of His Letters," by Rabbi Solomon Grayzel.

"Some Business Relations of Jacob L. Seixas," by Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool.

"Lafayette and the Jews During His Visit to the United States, 1824-1825," by Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin.

"Early Beginnings of Canadian Jewish History," by Benjamin G. Sack.

"The Last Will of Rabbi Haim Carregal, 1777," and "The Early Barbados Connections of the Gomez Family of Philadelphia and New York," by Wilfred S. Samuel.

"Notes on the Inquisition in America" (in French), by Cardozo de Bethencourt.

The following papers were read by title:

"Jacob H. Schiff and the Immigrant: Some Important Incidents in the History of the United States, and of Our Faith," and "Some Recent Light on Our Pre-War Relations to Russia, with Particular Reference to the Jews," by Max J. Kohler.

"The True Story of the Relation of the Jews to the Contested Election for Representative in New York in 1737," by Samuel Oppenheim.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were voted to the governors of the Dropsie College for their courtesy to this annual meeting.

REPORTS OF LEON HUHNER, CURATOR.

During the past year the society has received 38 bound volumes, 50 pamphlets and 52 periodicals, including publications of the various learned societies. Our collections now comprise 2179 bound volumes, 3004 pamphlets, besides pictures, autographs and relics of value in the study of Jewish history.

Through Mr. Samuel Oppenheim the society has come into possession of two interesting items: the original inventory of the estate of Mordecay Gomez (1750), signed by the executors, David, Daniel, Moses and Isaac Gomez; and the original inventory of the estate of Samuel Levy (1760).

Other gifts were as follows: Mr. A. M. Friedenberg, 12 pamphlets; Mr. B. H. Hartogensis, copy of the War Tribute Number of the *Jewish Times;* Mr. L. Huhner, 3 books and 22 pamphlets; Mr. M. J. Kohler, several pamphlets and the *U. S. Democratic Review,* vol. xl, containing an article on Emanuel B. Hart and on the Jews of India; Rev. Lee J. Levinger, A Jewish Chaplain in France; Dr. Joseph Stolz and Mr. Ben Brith Mela, each 2 volumes.

Many of our members and their friends doubtless have valuable historical letters, pictures and documents which would be of great service to students in the field of American Jewish history. Such items are frequently lost forever either by accidental destruction or more often by coming into the hands of persons not at all interested by whom they are ultimately thrown away. May the society again appeal to those who possess such material to donate it *now,* so that it may be made accessible and worthily preserved? May we further appeal to those who have material of this character, with which for sentimental reasons, they are unwilling to part, that they make a list describing it, and send such to the curator, so that workers may be assisted in ascertaining where such original material may be found and copied and their contents preserved.

In conclusion may I urge again the importance of a suitable home for the valuable material we already possess, a building where our collections can be made more readily accessible, where rare items can be exhibited to advantage, which will serve not only to stimulate gifts of a similar character, but be a place to which the American Jew can direct his fellow citizens of other faiths to satisfy themselves as to the important share of the Jew in the upbuilding of our country?

Dated April, 1922.

The collections of the society have materially increased, particularly through a number of valuable gifts since February 1, 1922: 51 books and 86 pamphlets as well as 38 periodicals have been added, so that our collections now contain 2230 bound volumes and 3090 pamphlets.

Among the most recent additions is a splendid set of the Records of New Amsterdam, a seven-volume publication, which workers in American Jewish history have had repeated and constant occasion to use. Also the most recent work on the origin of Columbus by Prudencio Otero Sanchez, which has just appeared.

As stated, the society was fortunate during the year in receiving a number of valuable gifts, and is particularly indebted to Mrs. Louise S. Hendricks who has repeatedly shown her interest by valuable contributions.

The more valuable gifts are as follows: Mrs. Louise S. Hendricks, contemporary MS. copies of letters of Haym Salomon, the well-known patriot of the American Revolution. Also four large portfolios on the Art of Writing; Mr. Ludwig Lader, 18th century silver, consisting of a beaker, three salt-cellars, dish, spice box and oval box, together with a blue silk cover, and two 18th century pillow-cases, which had belonged to the Kohnstamm family for several generations. Also a statement as to this silver and a sketch of the Kohnstamm family; Mrs. Alexander Bergman (at the suggestion of Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon), papers belonging to the late Henry Greenebaum, including a memorial pamphlet; the family of the late Myer S. Isaacs, a volume containing an almost complete set of the printed proceedings of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, and a number of pamphlets of Jewish interest bound therewith; the widow of the

late Joseph Ransohoff, a distinguished physician of Cincinnati, The Ransohoff Memorial Volume, and a book by Dr. Joseph Ransohoff entitled, Under the Northern Lights. This memorial was issued by his colleagues and pupils as a tribute; Prof. Richard Gottheil, photographs of the late Gustave Gottheil, including two testimonials to him; Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, a collection of 25 items, mainly pamphlets, relating to Jewish institutions and congregations in Philadelphia, as well as several volumes of periodicals; Mr. Isaac Markens, rare portrait of David L. Yulee; Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, his recent work entitled, Heaven and Hell with Special Reference to Dante.

I am also authorized to mention that Hon. Simon Wolf has informed me that he has decided to donate to the society a collection of letters and appeals all addressed to President Rutherford B. Hayes in connection with Mr. Wolf's resignation as Recorder of Deeds in Washington during the Hayes Administration, and appealing to the President not to accept the same. These documents were subsequently obtained by Mr. Wolf for preservation, because among them are many letters and appeals from some of the most prominent figures of the country at the time. Mr. Wolf expects to present these to the society in the near future.

The following additional gifts were likewise received: Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, 16 pamphlets; Mr. Leon Huhner, 19 pamphlets; Mr. Max J. Kohler, history of the Board of Delegates, and Gleanings from a Gathered Harvest by M. M. Noah; Mr. Charles J. Cohen, sketch of the Fairmount Park Art Association; Rev. Dr. Simon Glazer, The Palestine Resolution; Rev. Max Heller, Souvenir of Temple Sinai.

The society is indebted to the various learned organizations which have favored us with their publications. In addition to these we acknowledge the courtesy of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, which has favored us with its regular issues of the *B'nai B'rith News,* and that of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations which, at the suggestion of Mr. Max J. Kohler, has sent us a set of its year books covering the period 1892-1922.

May I again urge upon you the importance of considering the question of a suitable home for our collections, now becoming more urgent than ever? Our room at the Seminary is so crowded as to make it next to impossible to properly get at any of the material in our collections; it is of the utmost importance that some appeal be made in the very near future so that the valuable material we have may not only be exhibited to advantage but be made available for use, and

thereby attract additional gifts which we are in a fair way of getting, if we can only assure the proper repository.

Dated May, 1923.

The accessions to our collections during the past year consisted of 42 books, 44 pamphlets and 30 periodicals so that our collection now contains 2272 bound volumes, 3134 pamphlets, besides periodicals, curios and pictures of value:

Perhaps the most valuable gift received by the society during the past year has come from Mrs. Charles Hendricks, a direct descendant of Haym Salomon of Revolutionary fame. The gift of Mrs. Hendricks consists of a transcript of most of the known material relating to Haym Salomon, compiled in a substantial typewritten volume entitled, Facts Relating to Haym Salomon, including also a transcript of Major André's account of the Mischianza. Besides this Mrs. Hendricks has presented the following: Original draft payable to the order of Haym Salomon, December 14, 1780. Ketubah (with translation) of the following: Solomon Levy and Rebekah Hendricks, 1789; Haym Salomon and Rachel Franks, New York, 1777; Jacob de Leon and Hannah Hendricks, New York, October, 1789. Picture of old Provost Prison of the Revolution. Photographic copy of list of prices at Ipswich issued by Committee of Correspondence, February 10, 1777. *Saturday Courier,* Philadelphia, October 30, 1847, containing account of Haym Salomon. Facsimile of *Pennsylvania Packet,* September 21, 1784, containing announcements as to business of Haym Salomon as it stood after his death.

Another very valuable gift to the society has been that of Mr. Ludwig Vogelstein who has generously given the society a year's subscription to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency which records items of Jewish interest from all over the world.

The society also gratefully acknowledges the following gifts: Bureau of Jewish Social Research, through the courtesy of its Director, Dr. H. S. Linfield, its Summary of Events of Jewish Interest, vols. i and ii; Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, typewritten copy of inscriptions on the tombs of the Etting family cemetery in Baltimore; Congregation Mikve Israel of Philadelphia, through the courtesy of Dr. Cyrus Adler, copy of medal struck by the Congregation in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Rev. Dr. Sabato Morais, including also program of exercises in that connection; Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, translation of Wassermann's novel, Judah Touro; issue of *Jewish Quarterly Review* containing his review of Wätjen's Colonial

Empire of Holland in Brazil; Golden Jubilee Celebration First Hungarian Congregation Ohab Zedek; S. Zeitlin, Napoleonic Sanhedrin and the Russian Government; Dr. N. M. Gelber, his work (in German) Two Centuries of Modern Jewish History, as well as his work (in German) The Jews and the Polish uprising of 1863; Albert E. Henschel, a book of Passover stories and incidents, compiled by Hugo Hermann; Leon Huhner, 20 pamphlets of American Jewish interest, as well as a substantial collection of clippings from various newspapers and periodicals relating to Jewish events and Jewish history which have appeared during 1923, to be inserted in a scrap book furnished by Mr. Huhner; Mark J. Kätz, Senate document No. 207 relating to the destruction of the Maine, and typewritten article by Mr. Kätz on the battleship Maine and the gunboat Scorpion; Max J. Kohler, article by Yarmolinsky on the Kennan collection, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor containing Rubin's essay on the economic condition of Jews in Russia, Portrait of the late David Lubin, Anti-Semitism, by Daniel de Leon, S. McKenna's Account of Alexander Teixeira de Mattos; Miss Florine Lasker, framed facsimile of Congressional Resolution on the death of Eduard Lasker, 1884; Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, House of Life, being an account of the Jewish burial ground in London; Mr. J. Henry Strauss, of Baltimore, By-laws of Barbados Congregation, 1837, together with printed account of consecration of Barbados Synagogue; Mr. Jac. Zwarts, 16 pamphlets in Dutch relating to the history of the Jews in the Netherlands, to Portuguese Jews, to Isaac Aboab da Fonseca and other items of Jewish interest. Among the more interesting purchases made during the year are the following: An etching of Sir Moses Montefiore, made by a member of his family in 1879; Rossi's recent work on Lorenzo da Ponte; an original letter of Benjamin Disraeli, 1844, with his seal; Balaban's Sketch of the Jews of Poland; Davidsohn's The Jews of Berlin; Munk, Jewish Physicians of the Middle Ages; Meisel's elaborate German work on the Jews of Poland; and the works of Uriel da Costa recently published by the Oxford University Press.

The society has been favored as heretofore, by the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, with the issues of the *B'nai B'rith News,* as well as by the New York Historical Society and other learned organizations with their publications. In the near future we are also to receive the gift of our late fellow-member, Simon Wolf, of a collection of letters and documents relating to his career.

Dated May, 1924.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.[1]

By A. S. W. Rosenbach, Ph. D.

The American Jewish Historical Society has been in existence thirty years and during that time its members have unearthed many facts relating to the Jews in America that have long been buried. They have brought to light things that have been so encrusted with mould that only a trained investigator could discover them. Our early history has been revealed to us only by a painstaking search through thousands of charters, manuscripts, records and books; we have removed the débris of time and oblivion and the picture is presented to us much clearer than it was three decades ago.

By this unearthing of facts I do not mean to infer that we are gravediggers and that our work is solely to uncover the remains of the past. History is not a dead science, as many suppose. It is an everliving thing and it is the mission of the true investigator to turn back the wheels of time and to portray for us vividly the customs, the manners, the social and political aspect of past centuries.

As yet the historian of the Jewish people in America has done little to give us a picture painted to the life. We know almost nothing of the *intimate* life of the early colonial Jewish families. We have gathered the naked facts but we have not discovered the wherewithal to clothe them. We know the date of birth and death, the business or profession, the synagogue he attended, the cemetery that keeps the bones of many a colonial worthy, but we have little knowledge of his political and philosophical beliefs, his home, the manner and style of his residence, the furniture thereof, the books he read, or in fact the details that constitute the real fabric of his being.

[1] Delivered at the Thirtieth Annual Meeting, New York, April 30, 1922.

An attempt is being made now to increase our fund of information as to the family paintings that hung many years ago upon the walls, and we now possess a survey of the portraits of these early colonial ladies and gentlemen which is of extreme interest. A gallery containing reproductions of these old portraits would be a valuable addition to our store of knowledge.

All this requires time and, what is more important, it demands the trained student. For after all it is amazing what we do *not* know about the Jews in America. We have not searched a tithe of the records. No systematic effort has been made to go through the newspapers, although the early issues of the periodical press have been made accessible by the photostat process, and the larger libraries have now almost complete files. The archives of the individual states are almost unknown mines of information; even the printed documents, if carefully looked over, would reveal unknown and surprising facts. In truth both the national and state archives are unpathed waters, awaiting the first trained adventurer. I do not mean to reflect on what has been accomplished in the past. Few historical societies in this country can show the stately array of twenty-eight volumes, which this organization can proudly exhibit. Historical facts of the greatest importance have been placed at the hand of the student. Through the encouragement given to scholars by Dr. Cyrus Adler, who is himself a most able and scientific historian, many springs of untold wealth have been tapped and through his great knowledge of the treatment of the subject, this new material has been presented to the public in its proper setting. Not only has Dr. Adler made notable contributions to American Jewish history, but under his warm and sympathetic guidance many students have enriched our volumes with articles that for originality of research, in the weighing of sources and in critical outlook, have rarely been excelled.

Despite the work accomplished there is much to do. We must not go too far off the beaten track and delve too deeply

into European problems and history. Our work has been cut out for us here. I do not depreciate the study of Jewish chronology and affairs across the water, which should be encouraged by all means and is worthy of the attention of the most erudite scholar, but primarily I think this Society should stick to its own. We have not scratched the surface of our own history.

Of course this basic spring of our present existence on the American continent goes back to Oriental and to European sources. To explain fully our presence here we must naturally look into the archives and annals of olden empires and peoples, and it is for this reason there should be the closest cooperation between our Society and the historical organizations of Europe and other parts of the world. Dr. Abrahams in his paper "A New History of the Jews," feels the need and necessity of this cooperation. The manuscript and printed records of other countries, insofar as they relate to the western continent, should be at the beck and call of the American scholar. I merely suggest that we concern ourselves primarily with things touching upon our own history and origins. The American Jewish Historical Society has a noble task before it and in order to carry it to fruition we must conserve our energies and devote all our time to the purposes for which the Society was founded.

Of course the history of the American Jewish people cannot be written until a great proportion of the foundation material has been assembled. We have yet to build the structure. Our chronology is defective and faulty. Some states, particularly in the great West, have received but scant attention on the part of the investigator and the history of the movement or migration of our people from the early settlements on the Atlantic Coast, through the Mississippi Basin to the Pacific Ocean has not been thoroughly expounded. Therefore it behooves us to use every effort in our power to begin the research into American Jewish history in a systematic and scien-

tific manner, to lay the foundation for a great and definite narrative of our existence upon the western continent.

In order to develop trained workers it is necessary that scholarships and fellowships for this study should be founded in connection with the chairs of history in the various colleges and universities. It is only after a student has taken a thorough course in the fundamentals of the subject that he is able to carry on original research, which is of such vital importance to us. This being pioneer work there are no text-books to guide us. There are no milestones to indicate the way. It is therefore imperative that these scholarships be established for post-graduate work only, so that the investigator should bring to his task a full measure of preparatory equipment. It is curious that in our seminaries and schools although almost everything is taught from old Egyptian roots to new Czecho-Slovakian sprouts, there is nothing to indicate in the curriculums that we have a history of our own. Yet from the days of Columbus the Jews have been active, not only in the arts, in commerce, in science, but in the discovery, exploration and exploitation of this continent.

There is another important matter which has given the Executive Council of the Society much concern, and that is the preservation of our records. The problem grows more serious every day. The material relating to the World War has reached a point where it should be properly digested and classified. We have no place in which this work can be done. The Jewish Theological Seminary of America has generously placed at our disposition a room in which our records are stored. Something has to be done, and done quickly.

These precious documents, these mementoes of our life upon the western hemisphere should be preserved in an edifice built and consecrated to the study of that history. There should be an adequate building which could not only house muster-rolls, charters, autograph letters, broadsides, books, pamphlets, maps, globes, the usual apparatus of the annalist,

but the portraits, the engravings, ancient articles of household decoration, wearing apparel, old silver, objects of personal association, and the thousand-and-one things that comprise the modern museum. We can then attempt to reconstruct the days of long ago and to give a faithful portrayal of the time when New York was settled, of the first synagogue on Manhattan Island, the Newport of the eighteenth century, with Judah Touro in his quaint top-hat, the Jews in Philadelphia signing before the Revolution the Non-Importation Agreement, Rebecca Gratz founding the first Hebrew Sunday-school in America, the patriots who died in the Civil War, and those who shared in the great world-contest.

As to the latter mighty struggle what shall we do to perpetuate the memories of those who died gloriously in battle? What shall we do for those brave men who served in the field, in the hospitals, in the foundries, in the workshops, in the offices? On every side we read of projected monuments, effigies in marble and in bronze, memorial rooms in great institutions, cenotaphs, and urns.

These are but ephemeral things that live but for a day. They are in reality monuments to the famous sculptors and artists who design them; not to the men whose deeds make them worthy of immortality. The treasurer of this Society, Mr. Hendricks, suggested at a recent meeting of the Council, that instead of the usual war memorial a fund be secured that would be devoted to the gathering of all the facts relating to them, to the collecting of data that when published would give permanence to their sacrifices, and to the erection of an edifice that would commemorate their devotion to their country.

I know nothing more important than this before the public today. The efforts of the veterans of the World War are very close and dear to us. It is our duty to keep these efforts ever fresh in our minds but in order to do so they must be made known to us. Only the historian can make such things live.

There were many heroic actions, many stirring and quickening deeds, that, owing to the loss of documents, have already been forgotten. Letters telling of some noble sacrifice have no doubt already been destroyed, despatches that revealed acts of unpretentious service have been mislaid, orderly books giving in detail the particulars of an engagement have already perished. And yet the war is just over. We must rescue before it is too late these foundation stones of our history in order that we may rear a structure that will stand for all time as a record of their achievements, their courage and their simple faith.

Let us then with this purpose in view go steadily towards the goal of our high hopes. It cannot be accomplished immediately but a start should be made at once. Our cause is one that has a large and direct appeal, for what is more compelling and inspiring than the deeds of our own men, faithfully, truly, and exactly presented?

It is hoped that when an attempt is made to gather this fund, everyone will contribute in the same spirit as the noble men who gave their lives for their country.

NOTES ON THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, GUIANA, AND THE DUTCH AND BRITISH WEST INDIES DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

By Cardozo de Bethencourt.*

(Translated from the author's French original.)

When the first permanent Jewish communities on American territory were established toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who had sent thither an advance-guard of colonists, experienced a double measure of satisfaction. On the one hand the settlements represented a considerable extension of the prodigious commercial activity of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews; on the other, did these not thereby realize the Messianic age of the prophets? Such, at least, was the opinion expressed in 1650 by that great personality Haham Menasseh ben

[* The author, formerly the librarian of the Academy of Sciences, of Lisbon, Portugal, sent this paper from far-off Madrid, Spain, as a communication to the Thirty-second Annual Meeting of the Society. While he does not appear to have used the *Publications* of the Society and to have made his researches quite independently of the material therein provided by our writers, because, in Madrid, he had no access to these sources of information, yet it will be observed that he has had access to useful, but hitherto neglected, sources of information, principally the very valuable communal records of Amsterdam, Holland. Where he depends for his statements on printed works it will be found in the main that our writers usually have been equally diligent with him. In order that the reader may easily judge to what extent the author has duplicated information or, as in the case of the Amsterdam archives, mentioned names already given in the *Publications,* and in justice to our writers, the translator has added summary references by the numbers of the volumes and the pages of the *Publications* to the author's footnotes. These additions are invariably enclosed in brackets.]

Israel.[1] For him the establishment of American synagogues corresponded to what Daniel had foretold,[2] עם קדש. Some years later that singular poet Daniel Levi de Barrios[3] confirmed the ideas of Menasseh ben Israel in his bizarre interpretation of the text of Zechariah.[4] According to de Barrios the prophet literally mentioned the Americans, המריקים.

In thus recalling these exegetical theories of the rabbi and the poet I submit them as indicative of a cause, little appreciated but very real, for the emigration of Jews to America during the seventeenth century. For, we must not forget that these enterprising men, quick at grasping material gains, were at the same time idealists. Most of them lost their wealth in Spain or Portugal, suffered torture and imprisonment, and forsook a land, which nevertheless they loved, because of their ineradicable attachment to religious convictions that had become part of their family traditions.

I propose to publish some notes, gathered over a score of years, which relate to the emigration of Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam to the Dutch and British colonies of North America, Guiana and the West Indies. The majority of the families, especially in the United States, referred to in these notes, have persisted to this day. In the United States, moreover, a large number of colonists from the West Indies and Guiana have gradually settled. By the best possible evidence, that is, by documentary proof if extant, and not simply by tradition, I indicate the origin of the different families. As a result of the revolution in Portugal I was forced to leave my country; hence many of my notes were dispersed or totally lost. Such of them as I present here will, I trust, stimulate other students to prosecute more complete

[1] מקוה ישראל, *Esto es Esperanca de Israel,* Amsterdam, 5410, p. 111. [No. 20, p. 60.]

[2] xii, 7.

[3] *Monte Hermoso de la Ley divina,* Amsterdam, 5459, f. 15 * *verso: Llama Zacharias Amerikim a las sinagogas Americanas.*

[4] iv, 12.

researches in the archives of the old Sephardic communities of Europe and of the Inquisition of Spain and Portugal.

I. Barbados.[5]

Jews are said to have settled as early as 1628 in this island, which was captured by the English in 1605. The practice of Judaism was not permitted in the British dominions at the former date. If, indeed, Jews settled Barbados in 1628, these must have been crypto-Jews or Marranos. Professing Jews did not reach Barbados before 1656 when Abraham de Mercado, doctor of medicine, and his son David-Raphaël de Mercado received permission to settle, under date of April 20, 1655, from the English government.[6] Abraham de Mercado previously had been an elder of the Jewish community of Recife de Pernambuco, Brazil, to whom Menasseh ben Israel[7] dedicated one of his books in 1641. I do not know whether he was a relative of Dr. Samuel d'Israel de Mercado, the elected *parnass* of the Amsterdam community in 1641. David-Raphaël de Mercado in 1679 headed the list as the largest Jewish taxpayer in Barbados.

David Palache in 1667 left Amsterdam for this colony.[8] He, probably, is the one who bequeathed a legacy to the holy brotherhood Abi Yetomim of Amsterdam[9] prior to 1683.

[5] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 495; vol. ii, pp. 523-525. Unless the contrary is indicated the statements in the text are based on these two articles. [No. 1, p. 105 *et seq.;* No. 4, p. 223; No. 5, *passim;* No. 18, p. 129 *et seq.;* No. 26, p. 250 *et seq.*]

[6] "Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition," London, 1887, p. 179, No. 141. [No. 18, p. 146.]

[7] *Segunda parte del Conciliador,* p. 87: dedication to Mercado and others, on the *Quaestiones en el Libro de los Reyes.* [No. 3, p. 14; No. 4, p. 224.]

[8] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Rejistro para bom governo da samta Yrmandade de Abyetumym,* f. 19. In this as in all instances in this paper names and titles faithfully correspond to what appears in the sources.

[9] D. L. de Barrios, *Abi Yetomim,* p. 36.

Members of his family, among whom Samuel Palache, ambassador of Morocco in Holland, was the most distinguished, formed the first *minyan* in Amsterdam at the ambassadorial residence.[10]

In 1669 one David Baruch Louzada was in Barbados, possibly identical with the treasurer of the holy brotherhood Abi Yetomim of Amsterdam[11] in 1683. To this family, Portuguese and not Spanish in origin, Mosseh Baruh Lousada, one of the earliest *parnassim* of London[12] in 1664, and Daniel Baruch Louzada, not Louzado, rabbi of Barbados in 1772, belonged.

Diogo Fernandes Chaves, born at Covilham, Portugal, about 1635, after residing in London in 1665 with his brother Manoel Nunes Chaves,[13] of whom we shall have occasion to speak, lived in Barbados in 1670. Diogo was still in America[14] in 1702. Among the applicants for dowries to the Santa Companhia of Amsterdam were Rachel Torres, daughter of David Alv[ares] Torres of Barbados[15] in 1676.

The first *haham* or rabbi of this community was Eliau Lopes who left Amsterdam[16] Tammuz 19, 5438. He was still young[17] but already looked back on a brilliant career as preacher of the holy brotherhood Temime Darex of Amsterdam.[18] He preached the sermon at the dedication of the Por-

[10] *Idem, Triumpho del govierno popular,* p. 62.

[11] *Idem, Abi Yetomim,* unnumbered folio. [No. 20, p. 110 n.]

[12] J. Picciotto, "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History," pp. 34-35. [No. 26, p. 251.]

[13] *Archivo da Torre do Tombo,* Lisbon: Inquisition of Lisbon, trial No. 2383, Manuel Nunes Chaves.

[14] *Ibid.,* trial No. 138, Joseph Nunes Chaves.

[15] Archives of the *Santa Companhia,* Amsterdam, *livro d.*

[16] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 18 *verso.* [No. 3, p. 19 n.]

[17] D. L. de Barrios, *Hes Jaim,* p. 90: *Eliahu Lopez es | Jaxam desde que mancebo | la barba en Barbadas echa.* [*Idem.*]

[18] *Idem, Temime Darex. Academia tercera caritativa.* [*Idem.*]

tuguese synagogue in this city [19] in 1675. He was at his post as *haham* of Barbados [20] in 1683.

Simon Levi de Barrios, born March 17, 1665, died in Barbados May 16, 1688, was the son of Daniel Levi de Barrios like whom he wrote some minor verse in Spanish.[21] In 1685 he was a patron of the Academia de los Floridos [22] of Amsterdam. Aron de Jacob de Siena, an orphan, left Holland for Barbados in 1688.[23] At this time there were two synagogues in different parts of the island.[24]

The immigrants did not forget their former European communities. Thus, Irmiau Burgos of Barbardos sent one hundred florins to be dispensed in charity in Amsterdam.[25] His family, Spanish in origin, fled to Bayonne, France, and thence came to Amsterdam [26] in the first half of the seventeenth century. Jacob de Burgos, aged twenty, married Esther Nunes there, January 18, 1625, and Isaac Burgos, twenty-seven years old, was united in wedlock to Debora Masao, October 11, 1635.

In 1702 Diogo Fernandes Chaves, already cited, was in Barbados and so were his sisters Antonia de Vargas, formerly Nunes, who at twenty resided in Bordeaux in 1670, Izabel de Vargas, formerly Nunes, the widow of Simon Rodriguez Chaves, imprisoned by the Inquisition of Lisbon, an inhabitant of the same city at this date, Maria de Vargas, wife of Antonio Rodriguez Vaz, merchant, who was known as Maria

[19] *Sermões que pregaraõ os Doctos ingenios do K. K. de Talmud Torah, desta Cidade de Amsterdam, No alegre estreamento, & Publica celebridade da Fabrica que se Consagrou a Deos, para caza de Oração . . . .* , Amsterdam, 5435, 4 folios, 155 pages, 4 plates.

[20] D. L. de Barrios, *Abi Yetomim,* p. 40.

[21] Joseph de la Vega, *Rumbos peligrosos,* Amberes, 1683, ff. 12 and 14.

[22] D. L. de Barrios, *Academia de los Floridos,* p. 65.

[23] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 11.

[24] D. L. de Barrios, *Historia Real de la Gran Bretaña,* p. 56.

[25] *Santa Companhia,* Amsterdam, *livro d,* p. 4: Tammuz 6, 5457.

[26] Municipal archives, Amsterdam, *D. T. & B. 670,* f. 13; *674,* f. 30 *verso.*

Franca when she resided in London in 1670,—all members of the Chaves family which had been barbarously treated by the Inquisition.[27] Their father Manoel Nunes Chaves, born at Covilham, Portugal, about 1630, fled to Bordeaux and then removed to London in 1655 and 1670 respectively. In both these localities he openly professed Judaism. Returning to Lisbon he was reconciled before the Holy Office January 2, 1670, and condemned at the *auto da fé* of Lisbon, June 21, 1671. Rearrested March 15, 1703, he was burned in the *auto da fé* of Lisbon the following 9th of September. The paternal grandfather of the Barbadian members of the Chaves and Vargas families figured in an *auto da fé* celebrated at Lisbon, August 17, 1664, when he was sixty years of age. His name was Luis Mendes Vargas and he was born at Penamacor, Portugal, and married to Maria Franco of Covilham.

In 1717 Joseph Rodrigues Pereyra, an orphan, left Amsterdam for Barbados.[28] He may have been one of the next-of-kin of that Esther de Abraham Rodrigues Pereyra,[29] deceased *na flor de sua ydade,* Nissan 5, 5460. At all events, beyond his name he had nothing in common with the Rodrigues Pereire family of eighteenth-century France.

April 14, 1725, the king of England granted letters of denization to Moses Lopes Junior, "of our island of Barbados in America, merchant."[30]

Méïr A Cohen Belinfante, died 1752, is mentioned as rabbi of Barbados. Perhaps this was Méïr,[31] second son of Sadik Belinfante (1675-1750), and grandson of Rabbi Méïr Haïm

[27] *Archivo da Torre do Tombo,* Lisbon: Inquisition of Lisbon, *supra,* notes 13 and 14.

[28] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 72.

[29] Henriques de Castro, *Grafschriften . . . . te Ouderkerk,* pt. i, p. 2, No. 11 (MS.).

[30] British Museum, Add. MSS., 36129, f. 256.

[31] Carmoly, *Revue Orientale,* 1843-1844, vol. iii, pp. 134-138: *La famille Belinfante.* Our Méïr de Sadik is not included in the genealogical tree given in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. xi, p. 660. [No. 26, p. 251.]

Belinfante, born in Belgrade, Serbia, who settled in Amsterdam in 1688 in which place he died in the month of September, 1721. One of the successors of Rabbi Belinfante was Haham Abraham Gabay Izidro, a student of Haham David-Israel Athias in Amsterdam.[32] He was a resident of Barbados in 1753. From autobiographical details[33] we learn that he was born in Spain where he as well as his wife was arrested by the Inquisition. He fled to London and, after his circumcision, came thence to Amsterdam to study. In 1724 he preached a sermon in the latter city. The Amsterdam community[34] July 11, 1768, defrayed the cost of the voyage to Barbados of Daniel de Baruch Guerman.

David Sarfaty de Pina, not de Pinè, rabbi of Barbados, who died in April, 1797, belonged to an Italian family which migrated to Holland in the seventeenth century. In point of fact one Yosua Sarfatti Pina,[35] an accountant, was in Amsterdam in 1664, probably identical with the one who inspired in Daniel Levi de Barrios[36] this deplorable pun:

Si Yeosua Sarfati
es Pina, su Ester es rosa.

Another David Sarphati, probably the grandfather of the American, preached at the dedication of the synagogue in

[32] *Sermões funebres as deploraveis memorias do muy insigne Theologo . . . . H. H. R. David-Israel Athias . . . . Pregados . . . . por R. Jahacob de Selomoh Hu. Saruco, e por R. Abraham Yehisquia Bassan,* Amsterdam, 5513, p. 27.

[33] *Sermon predicado neste K. K. de T. T. por Ribi Abraham Gabay Izidro, en Sabat Vaikrà en R. Ḥ. Nisan del año 5484,* Amsterdam, Mosseh Dias, n. d. [5484], 30 pages.

[34] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Registro dos despachos,* f. 80.

[35] *Torcia luminosa per li Mercanti, di Redduttione di diversi Cambi d'Hamburgo, Danziche, Anversa, Ynguilterra, Francia, Venetia, Livorno, Spagna, Portugallo, Francaforte, e di Livorno a Londra . . . . Tutto fatto è corretto per Josua Sarfatti Pina,* Amsterdam, 1664. [For the preceding sentence in the text No. 26, p. 252.]

[36] *Feliz consorcio de . . . . Raphael Athias y Doña Beatriz Gomez Moreno,* Amsterdam, 5444.

Amsterdam in 1675; he was at the time president of the holy brotherhood Magen David.[37]

II. Surinam.[38]

Paramaribo in 1644 was the first settlement of the Jews within the confines of Surinam. In Spanish and Portuguese documents belonging to the Amsterdam community the name Surinam assumed very various forms: Sariñan, Sarinhão, Serenam, Serrinão, etc. About 1669 Joseph Franco of Surinam was a student of the Pinto *yesiba* in Rotterdam.[39] In 1674 he was a professor[40] at the Ets Haim (Amsterdam) to which rank he had been promoted previously. Two young girls from Surinam were among the applicants for dowries to the Santa Companhia:[41] 1675 Rachel, daughter of the late Semuel Semah Aboab, 1677 Ribqa, daughter of the late Jacob de Pina. The last-named is probably identical with the poet Jacob, or Manoel, de Pina,[42] who wrote verse with equal facility in Portuguese and Spanish.[43]

In 1682 three young men were sent from Amsterdam to Surinam: Selomoh Mesiah, Jahacob de Gabriel Nunes and

[37] *Sermões que pregarão os Doctos ingenios do K. K.ª Talmud Torah,* Amsterdam, 5435, pp. 133-135: *Sermão setimo que preegou o muy Docto Talmid H. & celebre preegador David Sarphati, Ros da Illustre Yesiba de Magen David.*

[38] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 494; vol. xii, p. 509. Unless the contrary is indicated the statements in the text are based on these two articles. [Frequently discussed, *e. g.,* No. 2, p. 29 *et seq.;* No. 4, p. 3 *et seq.;* No. 5, *passim;* No. 9, p. 129; No. 13, p. 127; No. 18, p. 179; No. 22, p. 25.]

[39] D. L. de Barrios, *Insigne Yesiba ô Academia de los muy nobles Señores Jacob, y David Imanuel de Pinto en el año de 5443.* [No. 3, p. 19; No. 5, p. 123.]

[40] *Idem, Hes Jaim,* p. 65.

[41] *Santa Companhia,* Amsterdam, *livro d.* [No. 9, pp. 132, 134.]

[42] D. L. de Barrios, *Relacion de los poetas y escritores Españoles de la Nacion Judaica Amstelodama,* n. p., n. d., pp. 54-55.

[43] *Elogios que zelosos dedicaron a la felice memoria de Abraham Nunez Bernal,* n. p., n. d., pp. 23, 50, 138 [=136], 152.

Aharon Uziel Cardozo.[44] I add the following notes on their families. January 1, 1626, Izaque Mesia [=Messiah], a native of Lisbon, aged twenty-six, married Hester Fonseke [=Fonseca], sixteen years old, in Amsterdam.[45] Jacob Uziel Cardoso belonged to the first *minyan* formed in Amsterdam.[46]

Ishac Neto, *haham* of Surinam in 1683, was the author of a sermon in Portuguese preached at the dedication of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam in 1675.[47] He was a pupil of the holy brotherhood Abi Yetomim,[48] and president in 1665 of the holy brotherhood Temime Darex. Of him Daniel Levi de Barrios[49] wrote:

> *Su primer Ros, ó doctrinal Cabeça,*
> *el jaxam Yshac Neto la preside:*
> *y, oy [1683], en la Indiana Sariñan, riqueza*
> *del bien mosayco, preceptor reside.*

The synagogue of Surinam was dedicated in 1685 by Rabbi David Pardo, who died in the colony in 1713. He was the son of Joseph Pardo, *hazan* in Rotterdam, grandson of David Pardo, *haham* of Amsterdam, and great-grandson of Joseph Pardo, the earliest rabbi of the same city, who, though he came thither from Turkey, belonged to a Spanish family.[50] After having studied in Amsterdam, where he was in 1667 a founder of the holy brotherhood Honen Dalim,[51] David Pardo became *hazan* in London. Among his publications was a

[44] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 19 *recto et verso.*

[45] Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, *D. T. & B. 670,* f. 59.

[46] D. L. de Barrios, *Triumpho del govierno popular,* p. 62.

[47] *Sermões que pregarão os Doctos ingenios do K. K. de Talmud Torah,* Amsterdam, 5435, p. 59. [No. 3, p. 18 *et seq.;* No. 4, p. 3; No. 5, p. 123; No. 16, p. 34 n.]

[48] D. L. de Barrios, *Abi Yetomim,* p. 40.

[49] *Idem, Temime Darex. Academia tercera caritativa; Hes Jaim,* p. 90. [No. 3, p. 19 n.]

[50] Certificate of Haham Isaac Abuab, Amsterdam, Menahem 13, 5448, pp. xi-xv of the work cited in note 52, *infra.* [No. 3, p. 19; No. 5, p. 126.]

[51] D. L. de Barrios, *Jonen Dalim, Yesiba,* p. 69.

treatise on the *dinim* (1679),[52] dedicated to that wealthy Israelite, Ishac Nunnes Belmonte, count-palatine, minister-resident of Spain in Holland.

Samuel Nasi, or Nassy, who courageously defended Surinam against the French Fleet in 1689, was, it appears,[53] a scholar and philanthropist.

Del pueblo de Sariñan
Samuel Nasi señorea
el coraçon con los dones,
y el estudio con la ciencia.

He studied in Amsterdam in the famous *yesiba* Ets Haim,

The following left Amsterdam for Surinam:[54] 1709 Jacob Montezinos, 1710 Isaque de Mosseh Moreno and Aharon Touro, 1717 Abraham M[endes] de Acosta or da Costa, 1718 Aharon Menasce, Mosseh de Eliau Nahar and Binyamin Oeb, 1722 Abraham Jessurun, 1726 Jehosua Cardozo, 1729 Ishac Nunes Ferro and Aharon Henriques Fereira or Ferreira, 1731 Abraham Bueno de Mesquita and Daniel Costa Cardozo, 1733 Moseh Salas. One of these names stands out: that of Bueno de Mesquita, which was borne by important Amsterdam personalities about 1683-1686. Abraham de David Bueno de Mesquita presented a donation to the holy brotherhood Guemilut Hassadim.[55] David de Jacob Bueno de Mesquita, *parnass* of Amsterdam, was *hatan Beresith* in 1685. He was also minister-resident of Prussia and agent-general of the duchy of Brunswick in Holland.[56]

[52] *Compendio de Dinim que todo Israel deve saber y observar. Compuesto por Estilo fasil y breve. Por David Pardo, hazan del K. K. de Londrez,* Amsterdam, 5449, 12 folios numbered i to iv, vi to viii, blank, ix to xv, blank, xvi to xix, xxi to xxiii, 321 pages, 3 pages not numbered.

[53] D. L. de Barrios, *Hes Jaim,* p. 90. [No. 4, p. 3.]

[54] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* ff. 41 *verso,* 42 *verso,* 69 *verso,* 71, 82 *verso,* 92 *verso,* 111, 112, 117 *verso,* 122.

[55] D. L. de Barrios, *Gemilut jassadim,* p. 65; *Dialogo harmonico de Maskil el-Dal,* p. 139.

[56] *Idem, Panegirico harmonico a los seis ilustres varones . . . . Al ilmo. Sr. Dd. Bueno de Mesquita, Enigma del principio en la*

In 1734 David Machado de Sequeira expressed thanks to the *parnassim* of Amsterdam in the dedication of a funeral oration, pronounced in Bordeaux, for having elected him preacher and teacher in Surinam.[57]

The exodus to this colony continued. The following departed from Amsterdam:[58] 1736 Jacob de Eliau Touro, 1748 Salomoh Machorro, 1754 Semuel de Selomoh Acohen, 1755 Manuel Vallabrega. A few facts concerning these emigrants may be added here. Jacob Touro, whose family became famous in the United States, had an ancestor in Surinam, Aharon Touro, mentioned above. Machorro was of a Portuguese family. Diogo Fernandes Machorro[59] was a prisoner of the Inquisition of Evora in December 1581. David Machorro went from Bayonne to Amsterdam[60] in 1632 and, soon thereafter, to Leghorn. Jacob Machorro, known in Portugal as Pedro Rodrigues de Moraes, was charged by the Inquisition of Lisbon[61] with judaizing in Hamburg about 1640. About 1683 there were in Amsterdam the *sopher* and musician Abraham Machorro,[62] the poet Eliau Machorro[63] who had been in Brazil, and Mosseh Machorro[64] who was an important figure.

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fiesta del Ilustrisimo Señor David Bueno de Mesquita, jatan Beresit, año de 5445, residente del inclito principe Christiano Ernesto, marques de Brandemburg, duque de Prusia. [No. 7, p. 103 n.]

[57] *Sermão funebre nas exequias dos trinta dias do Senhor David Ergas La Cour. Composto, é pregado em Bordeus, por David Machado de Sequeira,* Amsterdam, 5494, 22 pages.

[58] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* ff. 131 *verso,* 162 *verso,* 189, 199. [No. 3, p. 108.]

[59] *Archivo Historico Portugues,* 1914, vol. ix, p. 477.

[60] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Livro dos termos da ymposta,* ff. 34 *verso,* 49.

[61] Pedro A. de Azevedo, *O Bocarro Francês,* in *Archivo Historico Portugues,* vol. viii, p. 196.

[62] D. L. de Barrios, *Dezima a los insignes en la flauta y la pluma Abraham Machorro, en la bihuela Ishac Mendez.*

[63] *Idem, Relacion de los poetas,* p. 58.

[64] *Idem, Temime Darex.*

The Valabrega family, of Italian origin, apparently did not come to Amsterdam before the eighteenth century. In this city[65] Rachel, daughter of Jacob Balabrega or, more correctly, Valabrega, was born January 17, 1737.

The colonists in America maintained intimate relations with the Amsterdam community; for example, in 1757 two residents of Surinam were members of the holy brotherhood Mischenet Zequenim.[66] They were Jahacob Henriques de Barios [=Barrios], circumcized at The Hague[67] June 16, 1701, whose son J. H. de Barrios Junior[68] was *parnass* of Surinam in 1786, and Ishac Henriquez Morao [=Morão], perhaps identical with Ishac de Aron Henriques Morão,[69] a founder of the holy brotherhood Eben Yecara in Amsterdam in 1733.

The year 1759 was notable for the number of emigrants from Amsterdam destined for Surinam.[70] The list included: Joseph de David Alascar, David de Daniel Baruh Bueno, Mosseh Falcão or Falcon with his wife, two children and two adopted children,[71] Ishac and Jacob, sons of Mosseh da Fonseca, Joseph Levy Flores, son or grandson of Joseph de Ishac Levi Flores, director of the holy brotherhood Livyat Hen[72] in Amsterdam in 1704, Ishac and Jacob, sons of Joseph Levi Montesinos or Montezinos, Semuel de Jechiel Messias, whose ancestor Selomoh Mesiah had already emigrated to Surinam, as has been noted, Mordehay de Selomoh Molho, brother of

[65] Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, *D. T. & B. 400.*

[66] *Anno de 5517. Pauta dos Senhores Irmaôs de Mishenet Zequenim,* Amsterdam, 5517, 8 pages.

[67] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Livro das circunsisons feitas por Mosseh Abarbanel.*

[68] Carmoly, *Revue Orientale,* vol. iii, pp. 200-201. [No. 4, p. 6.]

[69] *Livro das ordenanças ou Escamoth da meritoria e pia hirmandade intitulada Eben Yecara,* Amsterdam, Ellul 20, 5493, 23 pages, pp. 3-5.

[70] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Registro dos despachos,* ff. 1-3, 5-9.

[71] *Ibid.,* f. 7. His departure was postponed on account of illness.

[72] Ishac de Sola, *Sermones,* Amsterdam, 5464, p. 100.

David Molcho,[73] born in Amsterdam, November 16, 1737, Eliau de Mosseh Pacheco, whose name reminds us of Aaron Pacheco, married in Amsterdam 1684 to Lea Mendes de Castro,[74] Abraham de Daniel Rodrigues Soldado. Here I add Moseh Pacheco,[75] who departed January 28, 1760, to join his brother Eliau Pacheco, previously referred to.

In 1786 the regents of the Portuguese Jewish nation of Surinam wrote to Dohm[76] to thank him for his favorable expressions toward Israelites in his writings. This letter, dated March 10, has been printed by Carmoly.[77] The signatories bore these names: J. H. de Barios [=Barrios] Junior, C. H. Brandon, Is[aac] and S. H. de La Parra, Moseh P. de Leon, D. D. J. C. Nassy.

According to documents in the archives of the Portuguese community of Amsterdam,[78] the last emigrant who left for Surinam was Moses Gomes Carvalho Junior, who received his ticket November 14, 1802.

III. Cayenne.[79]

Adjoining the colony of Surinam, Cayenne was ceded to France by Holland in 1664. It was thought that Jews settled it about 1650, but what is certain is that a group of 152 Israelites left Leghorn in 1660 to establish a colony in

[73] Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, *supra.*

[74] D. L. de Barrios, *Dichoso epithalamio de los muy nobles señores Aaron Pacheco, y doña Lea Mendes de Castro,* Amsterdam, 5444, 2 folios.

[75] *Registro dos despachos,* f. 12.

[76] Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, 1751-1810, who retrieved for the Jews of Germany their rights as citizens. [No. 3, p. 126; No. 26, *passim.*]

[77] *Revue Orientale, supra.* [No. 13, p. 133 *et seq.;* No. 22, pp. 27, 36 n.]

[78] *Registro dos despachos,* f. 202.

[79] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 494; vol. iii, p. 634. [No. 2, p. 95; No. 3, *passim;* No. 8, p. 7; No. 16, *passim.*]

Cayenne. They nearly perished during the journey thither owing to the lack of drinking-water. All these facts were gathered by the poet Daniel Levi de Barrios,[80] who was to have joined the expedition. The unfortunates who settled Guiana under the privileges accorded Jews by the Dutch West India Company, September 12, 1659, were compelled to quit the colony when it passed under the jurisdiction of the French, despite the French-Dutch treaty of May 15, 1664, which guaranteed them liberty of worship.[81] Most of them returned to Surinam. The Jews sought permission to settle anew in Cayenne in 1725, but the king of France[82] denied their petition.

IV. Curaçao.[83]

The island of Curaçao belonged to Spain from 1527 to 1634; in the latter year it became a Dutch possession. In 1650 Prince Maurice of Orange granted twelve Jewish families leave to settle in Curaçao, thus establishing the local community.

February 22, 1652, the Dutch West India Company granted a considerable tract of land to Joseph Nuñez da Fonseca, otherwise called David Nassi. The Jewish colonists settled under the leadership of Jan Illan, whose real name was João Ilhão, and who was born in Portugal about 1609. He gained experience in colonial activity as a result of his sojourn in

[80] Sonnet following *Fallecimiento del famoso Doctor Ishac de Rocamora,* n. p., n. d., folio. [No .11, p. 164.]

[81] Abraham Cahen, *Les Juifs dans les colonies françaises,* in *Revue des Études Juives,* 1882, vol. iv, pp. 127-128.

[82] *Ibid.,* p. 130.

[83] Joseph M. Corcos, "A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao," Curaçao, 1897, 48 pages; "The Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. i, p. 494; vol. iv, pp. 386-389; vol. xii, pp. 508-509. Unless the contrary is indicated the statements in the text are based on these works. [Frequently discussed, *e. g.,* No. 2, p. 75 *et seq.;* No. 3, *passim;* No. 6, p. 63 *et seq.;* No. 9, p. 149; No. 10, *passim;* No. 16, *passim;* No. 22, p. 169 *et seq.*]

Brazil where, in 1639 at Parahiba,[84] he was denounced for judaizing.

Curaçao Jewry was recruited by a goodly number of Jews from Pernambuco in 1654 when the latter was reconquered by the Portuguese. Sarah, daughter of Jeosuah Aboab, residing in Curaçao, was one of the applicants for dowries to the Santa Companhia of Amsterdam[85] in 1667.

The first emigrant from Amsterdam to Curaçao, whose name was given in the records, was Daniel Coem [=Cohen] Henriquez,[86] departing from the Dutch metropolis in 1680. He belonged to one of the oldest Jewish families in Amsterdam, for Abraham, Jacob and Isaac Cohen Henriques[87] figured in the synagogal registers from 1630. I do not know whether Abraham-Haim Lopez da Fonseca, who died in Curaçao, Menahem 22, 5432, was formally educated as a *hazan,* but I believe the first rabbi of this community was Yeosiahu Pardo, son of David Pardo, *haham* of Amsterdam.[88] Yeosiahu Pardo was a pupil of the famous Saul Levi Morteira, whose daughter he had married.[89] In 1667 he was the first religious leader of the holy brotherhood Honen Dalim in Amsterdam;[90] about 1669 he studied at the Pinto *yesiba* of Rotterdam, then located in Amsterdam;[91] about 1674 he presided over the *yesiba* Gemilut Hassadim in the same city.[92] In this same year he was appointed *haham* of Curaçao; he remained there to 1683 and then removed to Jamaica.

[84] *Archivo da Torre do Tombo,* Lisbon: Inquisition of Lisbon, trial No. 6810, Simão Gomes de Pas. [No. 2, p. 95; No. 8, p. 76; No. 10, p. 143 *et seq.*]

[85] *Santa Companhia, livro d.*

[86] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 20.

[87] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Livro da fintta e promessas do K. K. de Bet Israel, 5386-5393* f. 30 [=64].

[88] See *supra,* note 50. [No. 7, p. 57 n.; No. 10, p. 156.]

[89] D. L. de Barrios, *Hes Jaim,* pp. 82-83.

[90] *Idem, Jonen Dalim, auto,* pp. 83–84.

[91] *Idem, Insigne Yesiba ô Academia de los muy nobles señores Pinto,* 5443.

[92] *Idem, Gemilut Jassadim,* p. 53. [No. 3, *passim;* No. 5, *passim.*]

Benjamin Abenatar was an emigrant from Amsterdam to Curaçao in 1691.[93] Eliaho Lopez, whom we have already considered as *haham* of Barbados, was rabbi of Curaçao from 1692 to 1712. In 1697 he sent to Amsterdam for charitable purposes an anonymous gift received by him in Curaçao in discharge of a debt.[94]

The Inquisition of Lisbon [95] confirmed the presence in Curaçao about 1703 of the following, natives of Covilham, Portugal: First, Leonor Froys, daughter of Manoel Frois, farmer of the income of the university and bishopric of Coimbra, who was married to a physician in France and died without issue. Secondly, her nephew Diogo Vaz who, as a youth, lived with Leonor Froys and was the brother of Rafael Vaz and Filippa Henriques, wife of Manoel Nunes Chaves, already mentioned.[96]

The Frois or Froys family, Portuguese, had escaped to Bayonne, lived in Bordeaux and finally in Amsterdam. In the last-named city about 1686 Abraham Froys resided. He was a doctor of medicine and of law, member of the Academia de los Floridos,[97] *parnass* of Abi Yetomim,[98] and father of Ishac Froys. The latter was married in Amsterdam in 1686 to Ribca, daughter of Abraham Baruh Carvalho.[99] To this same family belonged Benjamin Frois, who went to Curaçao in 1705 with Jacob Sanches and Abraham de Campos.[100] The

[93] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 17 *verso.*

[94] *Santa Companhia,* Amsterdam, *livro d,* p. 4. [No. 1, p. 106.]

[95] *Archivo da Torre do Tombo,* Lisbon: Inquisition of Lisbon, trial No. 12213, Filippa Henriques, died in prison.

[96] See *supra,* p. 10.

[97] D. L. de Barrios, *Academia de los Floridos,* p. 63 [=67].

[98] *Idem, Abi Yetomim-Yesiba.*

[99] *Idem, Alegrias o Pinturas lucientes de Hymeneo,* Amsterdam, 1686, pp. 105-106: *Epytalamio 34. De los muy nobles Señores Ishac Froys y Doña Ribca Carvallo en 5 de junio de 1686, hijos de los muy ilustres Señores Doctor Abraham Froys y Abraham Baruh Carvallo.*

[100] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 47.

last-named was a descendant of Aron de Campos,[101] who lived in Amsterdam in 1617.

The names of several other emigrants to Curaçao were: i. In 1703 Manuel Marquez,[102] ancestor of Hazan Selomoh of The Hague, of whom the poet Daniel Levi de Barrios[103] wrote:

Selomoh Marques, puro y religioso,
brotô ramos, en Haya florecida,
de enseñanças, jazan tan virtuoso,
como sabio en la ley esclarecido.

ii. In 1712 David Lopez Salzedo.[104] iii. In 1714 Selomoh Redondo.[105]

Among the curious facts in the history of the Jews of Curaçao the circumcision, May 21, 1715, of David Dias Pimienta must be mentioned. He thereupon assumed the *prenomen* Abraham. He was a priest, member of the Order of Mercy, born in 1684 or 1687 at San Juan de los Remedios, Cuba, and converted to Judaism from motives difficult of ascertainment. After having wandered all over South America and the West Indies, as well as in Mexico, he was imprisoned by the Inquisition of Carthagena, Colombia, condemned to confinement for life in the *auto da fé* of that locality, June 20, 1717, and transported to Spain. Mentally unbalanced, on the day of his arrival he prayed there "twenty times as a Jew and twenty times as a Christian." He acted similarly at the stake, at which he was burned, in the *auto da fé* celebrated at Seville, July 25, 1720, for judaizing anew in Spain. Were it possible to credit his confessions, interesting details concerning the Jews of Curaçao and their desire to avert all instances of proselytizing could be

[101] Henriques de Castro, *Keur van grafsteenen te Ouderkerk,* p. 21, where mention is made of the death of a child of Campos.
[102] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 41.
[103] *Abi Yetomim,* p. 41.
[104] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 47.
[105] *Ibid.,* f. 50.

gathered therefrom. Pimienta reported the singular view of a Jew of Curaçao in these terms:

> The Inquisition, said the Israelite, is useful. It upholds Judaism, since the timid crypto-Jews flee to countries where they may live unmolested and multiply.

I am unable to vouch for the authenticity of these words, for as a source Pimienta must be used with caution.[106]

After they made their fortunes in Curaçao the colonists sometimes returned to Amsterdam and displayed a splendid generosity as communal workers. Such were[107] Isaque de Abraham Morão in 1718 and Manuel de Ieuda Touro in 1722. In 1736 three emigrants were enrolled as quitting Amsterdam for Curaçao:[108] Benjamin Cortissos or Cortiços, David de Abraham de Meza and Benjamin Men[de]s Quiros.

Semuel[109] Mendes de Solla, whose last name is variously written, Sola, Solas and Sollas, *haham* in Curaçao from 1745 to 1761, merits brief consideration. Born in Portugal, not in Amsterdam,[110] he carried on his rabbinical studies in the latter place with the aid of Jacob Telles da Costa,[111] *parnass* of the seminary Ets Haim.[112] The professor of Talmud in this

[106] I believe that the story of Dias Pimienta has been published but my account is based on the notes I drew up at the British Museum, London, August 28, 1902, from an eighteenth-century MS., quarto, 10 folios, designated 4071. i. 4 and entitled *Relacion de el auto de fee celebrado en el real Conbento de San Pablo, orden de Predicadores, en Iueves 25 de Jullio de 1720. dia de el Señor Santiago, en que hubo seis Penitenciados siendo uno de ellos un Religioso Sacerd*[o]*te de el Militar Orden de nuestra Señora de la Merced.* [No. 9, p. 19, *et seq.*]

[107] *Santa Companhia,* Amsterdam, *livro d,* preliminary folio, p. 9. [No. 10, p. 156; No. 16, pp. 132, 133 n.]

[108] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* ff. 132 and 135.

[109] I do not know why he is called Raphael-Samuel in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. iv, p. 389; vol. xi, p. 434. [No. 3, pp. 117, 142; No. 6, p. 159; No. 9, p. 148.]

[110] *Ibid.,* vol. xi, p. 434. [No. 3, p. 142; No. 5, p. 119; No. 6, p. 159.]

[111] Dedication of *Sermam moral.*

[112] D. L. de Barrios, *Hes Jaim,* pp. 61, 96.

institution at this time was the famous David-Israël Athias.[113] In 1718 the mother of Mendes de Solla, fearful of the terrors of the Inquisition, with her two sons Jacob and Joseph fled her native country and came to Amsterdam. On this occasion the future *haham* of Curaçao preached a sermon in the synagogue in Amsterdam.[114] Apart from the autobiographical information supplied by this document, it is invested with a striking literary interest. While the style and the language of the author are not above criticism, yet he mentions a small *cenacle* of poets, verses by whom he quotes in the prefatory pages of his *Sermam moral:* in Spanish by Abraham Gomez Silveyra and Jacob Gomez da Silva; in Hebrew by Jacob Sasportas; in Portuguese by Jacob and Joseph Mendes de Sollas, the brothers of the author. These poems are preceded by the approbation of the *haham* Selomoh de Jacob Aylion (אאיליון) dated Amsterdam, *27 del Homer Ano 5478,* and by an *Elogio* of Haham David-Israël Athias who, with his family, had the good fortune to escape the dangers of the Inquisition. After these poems follows the dedication to Jacob Telles da Costa!

Mosseh and David, sons of Daniel Mendes de Solas or de Sola "coming from Portugal," were circumcized in Amsterdam, December 2, 1721, aged twenty and eleven years respectively. They were brothers or cousins-german of our rabbi of Curaçao.[115]

[113] *Sermões funebres as deploraveis memorias do muy insigne Theologo . . . . Sr. H. H. R. David-Israel Athias . . . . Pregados por R. Jahacob de Selomoh Hu. Saruco, e por R. Abraham Yehisquia Bassan,* Amsterdam, 5510, 2 folios, 38 pages, 1 folio. On p. 27 of this discourse the latter mentioned Haham Solas (*sic*) of Curaçao as a disciple of the rabbi.

[114] *Sermam moral, em acçam de graças Pregado na Sta. Esnoga por Semuel Mendes de Solas,* Amsterdam, *em caza de Moseh Dias,* n. d. [5418], 4 folios, 27 pages.

[115] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Livro das circunsisoms feitas por Mosseh Abarbanel.*

In 1724-1725 Semuel Mendes de Solla published three sermons which he had preached in the synagogue in Amsterdam.[116] With the assistance of Joseph Siprut Gabay and Jeudah Piza he published the Spanish text of ספר הנהגת החיים by Moseh Almosnino in 1729.[117] One of the last sermons he preached in Amsterdam was written for the commemorative service of Hazan Aharon Acohen de Lara,[118] Iyar 20, 5504. A short time thereafter he departed for Curaçao, there to exercise the functions of a chief-rabbi or *haham*. The date of his arrival in the island was, I think, prior to 1749. For his grandson wrote[119] in 1785 that Semuel Mendes de Solla left Amsterdam for his post "more than forty years since," or 1745. When the *haham* assumed office, his position was difficult; since 1740 the Portuguese community was divided into two, distinctly autonomous, groups. The prince-stadtholder, by an edict issued from The Hague, April 30, 1750, decreed their union and approved the new rules of govern-

[116] *Sermam composto, e prégado por R. Semuel Mendes de Sollas. Em este K. K. de T. T. Em sabath Emor a 20. de Hyár Ao. 5484,* Amsterdam, Yshak de Cordova, Ellul 28, 5484, 2 folios, 22 pages. (2) *Sermam por R. Semuel Mendes de Sollas. Prégado em este K. K. de T. T. em Sabath Balak a 17. de Tamus Ao. 5484,* Amsterdam, Yshak de Cordova, Tishri 12, 5485, 20 pages. (3) *Sermam prégado em este K. K. de T. T. em Sabath Nisabim por R. Semuel Mendes de Sollas. Com licença dos Srs. do Mahamad, e aprovaçam do Sr. Haham,* n. p. [Amsterdam], Mosseh Dias, 5485, 26 pages.

[117] *Regimiento de la Vida . . . . Compuesto por el Muy Yminente, y Virtuozo H. H. R. Mosseh Almosnino . . . . ,* Amsterdam, 5489.

[118] *Sermam funebre, & moral, que ás exequias do Muy Docto H. H. R. Aharon Acohen de Lara, dignissimo hazan do K. K. de T. T. prégou o H. H. R. Semuel Mendes de Solla; prégador do dito Kahal. Em Sabat Emor 20. de Jiar Anno 5504. Impresso a custa do Author,* Amsterdam, 5504, 24 pages. [No. 3, p. 142.]

[119] Dedication of *Sermão penitencial. Que neste K. K. T. T. pregou Semuel Mendes de Solla. Em sabath Nitsabim & Vajelech 25 Elul 5544,* Amsterdam, 5545, 2 folios, 13 pages.

ment.[120] To mark this event, Menahem 17, 5510, the *haham* delivered one of his best discourses[121] in the presence of the important Christians of the Island. At the death of Stadtholder William, October 22, 1751, Semuel Mendes de Solla preached a funeral oration which was published twenty years later by his son Ishac Mendes de Solla.[122] Haham Semuel Mendes de Solla died in Curaçao in 1761, after the birth of his grandson, the future preacher of the holy brotherhood Abi Yetomim of Amsterdam, who also bore the name Semuel Mendes de Solla. A contemporary and colleague of the *haham* was Jeosuah de Cordova, of whom little is known. He was the author of a sermon preached in Curaçao, Adar Risson 11, 5513, a day of public mourning.[123]

[120] *Publicaçaó e provizional reglamento de Sua Alteza o senhor principe de Orange e Nassau, &c. &c. &c. consernente a Naçaó Judaica portuguesa em Curaçaó,* The Hague, Jacob Scheltus, 1750, 11 pages in double-column.

[121] *Triunfo da União contra o pernicioso vicio da Discordia, ou Sermaõ, que em quarta feira 17: de Menahem Anno 5510: pregou o H. H. R. Semuel Mendes de Solla, Rab do K. K. Mikvé Israel, & K. K. Neve Salom. Na ilha de Curaçao.* At the end: *Te Amsterdam, By Gerred en Joannes de Broen.* N. d. [5511].

[122] *Oraçâo funebre as postumas Memorias de Sua Serenissima Alteza, Principe Guilhermo IV. Principe de Orange & Nassau, Stadhouder hereditario das Sette Provincias Unidas, &c. &c. &c. Faleceo em 22 octubro, Anno 1751. Pregado No K. K. de Mikve Israel na Illa de Curaçao, por o insigne H. H. R. Semuel Mendes de Solla, theologo, celebre pregador, & Rab de ditta Congrega. Impresso a custa de seu filho, com a devida Licença dos Senhores do Mahamad, & Aprovaçaõ do Senhor nosso H. H. Corregido dos errores Thypographicos por R. Ishac de Eliau Acohen Belinfante.* [Amsterdam.] *Na Officina Thypographica de Gerhard Johan Janson, em caza de Israel Mondovy, Ao. 5531,* 16 pages. [No. 3, p. 142.]

[123] *Sermão pregado por R. Ieosuah de Cordova em 11. Adar Risson 5513. dia instituido de Jejum & rogativas na ilha de Curaçao,* contemporary MS., 11 folios (1 blank), 55 pages (the last 2 unnumbered), preserved in the Montezinos Library, 2. F. 16.

In 1756 two youths left Amsterdam[124] for this island: Abraham de Joseph Palache, the direct descendant of David Palache of Barbados, of whom we have spoken,[125] and Aharon Nunes Vaz.

Among the members of the holy brotherhood Mischenet Zequenim of Amsterdam in 1757 were Abraham de Ishac Munis and Abraham de Jahacob Rod[rique]s Miranda,[126] both of whom died in Curaçao.

The following Jews departed from Amsterdam for the colony[127] during the years 1758-1760.

1758: Ishac Vaz de Miranda. 1759: Aharon Mendes Solas, Abraham de Mordehay Lealtad with his wife, their daughter Esther and son Moseh, Isaac Nunes Lopes and wife, Daniel de Moseh Cortiços whose elder brother Benjamin Cortissos already resided in the island,[128] Abraham Nunes Lopes, Sarah de Selomoh Munis, Daniel Lopes Peña who was vice-president of the holy brotherhood Abodath Akodes in 1780. 1760: Ishac d'Abraham da Silva Curiel, Raphael Carv[alh]o de Lucena, Jeuda Mosse da Costa, Jeudah de Mosse Huliel whose name is probably misspelt[129] and for which the more commonly-used form Uziel is to be substituted, Samuel do Porto with his wife Ribca Nunes Carvalho and their two children, Abraham A Cohen da Silva, son of Rabbi Hiya Cohen de Lara, which name recalls Hiz. Cohen de Lara,[130]

[124] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* ff. 201, 204.

[125] See *supra,* p. 9.

[126] *Anno 5517 . . . . Pauta. dos Senhores Irmãos de* משעבת זקנים *Mishenet Zequenim,* Amsterdam, 5517, 8 pages.

[127] For 1758 *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 211; for the remaining years *Registro dos despachos,* ff. 1, 3, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15-18.

[128] See *supra,* p. 24.

[129] Huliel, Uriel, Usiel, Uziel are variants of the same name. The spelling Uriel is found in the name Jacob Uriez (David Franco Mendes, *Successos memoraveis dos Iudeos Portuguezes,* MS., p. 13), which, badly transcribed, is none other than that of a member of the Amsterdam community, Jaacob Usiel, who lived in that city in 1630. *Livro da finta de Beth Israel,* f. 30-64.

[130] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Carneseria 5496-5568,* p. 61.

who was responsible for the establishment of *sohetim* in 1758, Daniel Levy de Barrios, who bore the name and was the grandson of the poet cited herein many times.

Abraham Mendes de Castro, a generous Israelite of Curaçao, contributed liberally in 1762 to the publication of one of the most beautiful Spanish Bibles.[131] Jahacob Lopez da Fonseca preached a sermon in Amsterdam,[132] Iyar 10, 5523, when he was the recently-elected *haham* of Kahal Kados de Mikve Israel in Curaçao. His sermon dealt with charity; its style is singular from the linguistic point of view as well as from that of the rhetorical figures employed which are truly extraordinary. It was dedicated to the gentlemen of the *mahamad* of Mikve Israel who enabled the author to study in Amsterdam. At the beginning of the work these friends of the author published some laudatory verse: Joseph Shipruth Gabay and David Franco Mendes in Hebrew, Dr. Jacob d' Ancona in Latin, anonymous in Portuguese.

Adar Risson 28, 5540 the *mahamad* of Asmterdam[133] accorded to

Isaac a Cohen Belinfante leave to print a sermon of Haham Fonseca of Curaçao, to be then sent to him in said island, ... after it has been examined by our *haham*.

In point of fact the sermon was printed[134] in Amsterdam in

[131] *Biblia en dos colunas hebrayco y español,* Amsterdam, Joseph, Jacob and Abraham de Salomon Proops, 5522, folio.

[132] *Sermão moral, Pregado no K. K. de T. T. por H. H. R. Jahacob Lopez da Fonseca, Rab Eleito do K. K. de Mikve Israel na Ilha de Curaçao,* n. p. [Amsterdam], n. d. [5523], 28 pages. [No. 3, p. 118; No. 5, p. 119; No. 9, p. 149.]

[133] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Registro das permiçoems para a imprenta (5530)*, p. 6.

[134] *Sermão moral e panegirico, que no K. K. Mikve Israël, prégou o H. H. R. Jahacob Lopes da Fonseca na celebre festividade dos Noivos da Ley, que solemnizarão os senhores, O Sr. David Morales, hatan Bereschit, O Sr. Mordechay Motta, hatan Thora, em Curaçao sabat Bereschit, 29 Tisry, Ao. 5540. Impresso a despeza do Senhor Hatan Bereschit, & commissão do Senhor Binjamin Garcia. Com a devida licença dos Senhores do Mahamad, & approvaçaõ do Senhor H. H.*

1780; it was preached Tishri 29, 5540 in the Mikve Israel Synagogue of Curaçao in honor of David Morales, *hatan Beresith,* and Mordechay Motta, *hatan Torah.* The speaker specially praised the generosity of David Morales, who paid the cost of printing this discourse.

The *mahamad* of Mikve Israel approved, Tishri 27, 5544 = October 23, 1783, the rules of government of the holy brotherhood Abodath Akodes, responsible for the conduct of funerals.[135]

This society comprised twenty-four married and twenty-four single brethren, *haberim,* divided into four sextets, *mismaroth.* For each burial twelve members served and repaired to the residence of the departed "decently clothed." In 1783 this *hebra* included the following members: Hisquiao Mordechay Calvo, president, Daniel Lopez Penha, vice-president, Jacob de Daniel Aboab Cardozo, Binjamin Curiel, Josseph de Isaac Curiel, Mosseh Gonsales, Semuel Idanha de Casseres, Abraham Jesurun Henriquez, Isaac de Semuel Jesurun Pinto, Eliao de Michael Jeudah Leão, Semuel Haim Lopez Fonseca, Mordochay de Selomoh Lopez Henriquez, Selomoh de Ishac Levy Maduro, Selomoh de Mordechay Levy Maduro, David de Eliao Namias de Crasto, Raphael Namias de Crasto, Reuben Sasso, Mordechay Haim Senior.

Among these names, most of which are mentioned in these notes, we refer to Jesurun Henriquez, recalling Abraham Jesurun Henriquez, an elder of the Amsterdam[136] community about 1687, Leão or Leon in the Spanish variation, a name

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Emendado, & corregido dos errores typographicos por R. Ishac de Eliau Acohen Belinfante, Amsterdam, *Va. de Jahacob Props & seus orphãos,* 1780, 2 folios, 16 pages (the last 3 unnumbered). [No. 22, p. 170.]

[135] *Reglamento da Sta. Irmandade de caregar os difuntos, intitulada Habodat Akodes, estabelecida na ilha de Curaçao anno 5444,* n. p. [Amsterdam], n. d. [5444], 24 pages. [No. 22, p. 169 *et seq.*]

[136] D. L. de Barrios, *Dezimas al muy noble señor Abraham Jesurun Henriquez.*

honorably borne by Heliahu de Leon, *hazan* in Amsterdam [137] in 1684, and by Selomoh Jehuda Leão Templo, preacher in the same city toward the close of the seventeenth century, Levi Maduro, the first member of which family came from Portugal [138] to Amsterdam in 1746 and assumed the first name Selomoh.

I bring these notes on Curaçao to a close by mention of the following fact: Mosseh de Daniel Benveniste, "elected *hazan* of Kahal Kados Mikve Israel in Curaçao," was accorded leave, Iyar 4, 5544, by the *mahamad* of Amsterdam [139]

To print certain Hebrew verse for the purposes of distributing the same in the said community.

located in the West Indies.

V. United States.[140]

My notes on the first settlement of Jews in the United States are not numerous because direct relations between the Amsterdam community and the Jews of this region were rudely severed when the English took possession in 1664 of what became New York. For this division of our subject research must be made in the archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, in Bevis Marks, London.

According to tradition Jews settled at New Amsterdam about 1652. According to the records the first group arrived there in 1654; its members emanated from Brazil which the Portuguese then reconquered.

Moses Packeckoe, warden of the *kahal* of Newport, R. I., in 1677, bore in reality the Portuguese name Pacheco.

[137] *Idem, Hes Jaim,* p. 84.

[138] Archives of the Portuguese Jewish community, Amsterdam, *Livro, em que sentou o gabay da Sedaca Ar. de Jos. de Pinto a todas as pesoas a quem destribuio taletot,* f. 9.

[139] *Registro das permiçoems para a imprenta (5530),* p. 7.

[140] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 494; vol. ix, pp. 259, 294. Unless the contrary is indicated the statements in the text are based on these articles.

There were so many Jewish families of the names Lopes or Lopez, that it were unwise in the absence of extraneous proof to identify the poor Aharon Lopes, who left Amsterdam for Bayonne[141] in 1736, with the very wealthy Aaron Lopez, merchant at Newport, R. I., who settled there in 1750.

Zara Saso, widow of Ebyatar Cohen da Silva, emigrated with her daughter from Amsterdam to New York, going by way of London, June 29, 1759.[142]

Semuel A Cohen, *saliah* of Hebron, on his way to America, was accorded leave, Nissan 25, 5533, by the *mahamad* of Amsterdam, to print a manifesto which he intended to publish on his arrival in the New World.[143]

Despite all my research in the principal European libraries I have been unable to find a copy of the sermons in Spanish preached by Rabbi Raphaël-Haim Isaac Karrigal or Carregal at Newport, R. I., in 1773; these, I hold, were the first Jewish sermons printed in America.[144]

A native of Hebron [Karrigal was a] man of much worth and wide tolerance.[145]

Among the Jews who participated in the American War of Independence (1775-1783) must be included Abraham Sasportas. The inscription on his tombstone[146] in Bordeaux reads, as follows:

Ci git
ABRAHAM SASPORTAS
Membre du consistoire
agé de 72 ans.
Sous le général LAFAYETTE
il combattit

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[141] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* f. 132. [No. 2, p. 101 *et seq.*]

[142] *Registro dos despachos,* f. 4.

[143] *Registro das permiçoems para a imprenta (5530)*, p. 4. [No. 10, p. 18 *et seq.;* No. 21, p. 139; No. 27, pp. 157, 184, 250 n.]

[144] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. iv, pp. 592-593. [No. 3, p. 122 *et seq.*, p. 144; No. 6, p. 78; No. 8, p. 124; No. 10, p. 6 *et seq.;* No. 19, p. 113; No. 27, p. 523, for an English translation of this sermon.]

[145] E. Carmoly, *Revue Orientale,* vol. iii, p. 267.

[146] Jewish cemetery on the Route d'Espagne.

pour l'indépendance américaine
et reçut l'ordre de Cincinnatus.
Consul français à Charleston
il fut universellement honoré
Eprouvé
par de nombreux malheurs
Son courage
ne s'est jamais démenti.
DECEDÉ
le 14 novembre 1825
qui correspond
au 11 Quislev 5584.

I do not know whether Joseph Rodrigues Bernal[147] also fought for the independence of the United States, although he was always called "the American" and harbored very advanced political ideas. He was a member of the committee of public safety of Bayonne in the Year Two (1793-1794). Finally I note that Abraham de Ely Azuby[148] departed from Amsterdam for Philadelphia in 1783.

VI. Jamaica.[149]

In 1580, when Philip II united the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the island of Jamaica came under the jurisdiction of the family of Braganza.

Several Portuguese traders removed thither; their wealth and their activity produced new life and prosperity in the island.[150]

Those who well know how vast was the participation of the Marranos or crypto-Jews in the colonizing work of Portugal do not doubt for an instant that these were represented among the "traders," *i. e.,* merchant adventurers just referred to. One notes the presence of Jews in Jamaica in 1654; they came

[147] Henry Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne,* pp. 162-169.

[148] *Registro dos despachos,* f. 147.

[149] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. 1, p. 495; vol. vii, pp. 66-67; vol. xii, p. 509. Unless the contrary is indicated the statements in the text are based on these articles. [Frequently discussed, *e. g.,* No. 2, p. 97 *et seq.;* No. 5, p. 48 *et seq.;* No. 9, *passim;* No. 18, p. 149 *et seq.*]

[150] Elias Regnault, *Histoire des Antilles,* p. 108.

from Brazil, reconquered by the Portuguese. The next year the island ceased to belong to Holland and became English. The Jewish community prospered; the synagogue was dedicated in 1684. Shortly thereafter Yeosiahu Pardo arrived to exercise the functions of *haham.*[151]

The first settlers sent to Jamaica by the Amsterdam [152] community were Aron de Mosseh Tartas, who emigrated in 1694, and Daniel Ribeyro de Payva in 1717. Their names figured in the annals of the Portuguese Inquisition. The heroic Isaac de Castro Tartas was burned at Lisbon in 1647 amid conditions I have elsewhere described.[153] Antonio Ribeiro de Paiva, an apothecary in S. Vicente de Beira, was born at Penamacor about 1721, sentenced to prison for judaizing, and reconciled in the *auto da fé* of Lisbon,[154] September 24, 1747.

The Jamaica community included one of the best Spanish authors: Daniel-Israel Lopez Laguna [155] was born in Portugal and emigrated thence with his family to France. In 1691 he incorporated a Spanish sonnet in a very rare book,[156] the first public manifestation of Judaism in Peyrehorade.[157] Much later he settled in Jamaica where three sons, David, Jacob and Isaac, were born to him. When twenty-three years old Daniel Lopez Laguna worked at a translation of the Psalms into Spanish

[151] See *supra,* p. 21.

[152] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* ff. 25, 69 *verso.*

[153] *L'auto da fé de Lisbonne. 15 décembre 1647.* in *Revue des Études Juives,* 1904, vol. xlix, pp. 262-269. [No. 4, p. 125 *et seq.*]

[154] *Relacion del Auto publico de fe que se celebrò en la Iglesia del Convento de Santo Domingo de la Ciudad de Lisboa en 24 de Septiembre de 1747,* Sevilla, M. de los Rios, n. d. [1747], 8 pages.

[155] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vii, p. 594. [No. 3, p. 110 *et seq.;* No. 4, p. 121 *et seq.;* No. 5, p. 119.]

[156] *Historia sacra real. Glosa paraphrastica sobre la meguila ô volumen de Ester. Compuesta de las mas ciertas y probables Opiniones de H[aha]mim. Por Yshak de Acosta, hazan y R. en el K. K. de Peñaorada, Dirigela al magnifico señor Abraham de la Peña parnas presidente del K. K.,* n. p., 5451, 60 pages.

[157] A small city in the Department of Landes, in the southwest of France.

verse,[158] to print which he repaired to London in 1720. He immediately returned with his family to Jamaica.

The Portuguese Inquisition[159] in 1725 carried the name of Gaspar Mendes Furtado, merchant, born in Castile, son of Manuel Furtado and Brites Mendes, both of whom died in Spain and were descended from Jews. Gaspar Furtado married Luzia Mendes, who accompanied him to Jamaica. In 1725 they had seven children, Pedro Furtado, Manuel Pinheiro, João, Brites, Anna, Izabel and Maria.

Among the emigrants from Amsterdam[160] destined to Jamaica were Jacob d'Abraham Gomes in 1728, Imanuel Rodrigues in 1729, Mosseh de Jacob Acohen Peixotto in 1746, Ishac Pinheiro Nogueira with his mother and brothers in 1750. Mosseh Peixotto was the son of Jacob Cohen Peixoto, who married Rebecca Coen de Lara in Amsterdam,[161] Sivan 10, 5490, and grandson of Captain Mosseh Coen Peixoto, a Spanish poet.[162]

In 1759 Joseph de Abraham Israël left Amsterdam for Jamaica.[163] The following year Rev. Isaac Touro departed from the island in which, however, he was to end his days in 1783. He removed to Newport, R. I., and there his son Judah (1775-1854), the distinguished American philanthropist, was born. Isaac Touro was the son of Juda Touro,[164] a very able exegete, *agudo en su estudio santo,* who lived in Amsterdam about 1683.

[158] *Espejo de las vidas,* London, 5480. [No. 3, p. 111.]

[159] *Archivo da Torre do Tombo,* Lisbon: Inquisition of Lisbon, trial No. 6062, Pedro Furtado Ferro.

[160] *Rejistro de Abyetumym,* ff. 11 *verso,* 113 *verso,* 159, 167.

[161] Municipal archives, Amsterdam, *L. J. 2,* No. 3.

[162] D. L. de Barrios, *Relacion de los poetas,* p. 57. [No. 3, p. 108; No. 4, p. 130.]

[163] *Registro dos despachos,* f. 8.

[164] D. L. de Barrios, *Keter Sem Tob,* p. 151, where the name Touro is rendered into Spanish as Toro. [No. 6, pp. 78, 138; No. 13, p. 93 *et seq.; passim.*]

The following is a list of emigrants from Amsterdam to Jamaica[165] from 1764 to the beginning of the nineteenth century:

1764: Iael Rodrigues Brandaun, wife of Jacob Rodrigues Brandão. 1765: Isaac de Abraham N[une]s Flores. 1767: Abraham Cortisos, David de Abraham Abenatar, Sara Nune Mirada or more correctly Nunes de Miranda, her son Isaac and her mother, the widow of Mose Campos. 1768: David d'Isaac Nunes Navaro [=Navarro]. 1770: Abraham de David Ferro, Jeudit, widow of Abraham da Costa Andrade, their son David, and her mother,[166] descendants of the liberal Abraham da Costa Andrada[167] who lived in Amsterdam about 1690. 1771: Samuel Duque, Isaac d'Abraham de Cordova,[168] *haham* in Jamaica where he died in 1798. 1776: Ishac and Rephael, sons of Simon Pereira, Ishac de Abraham de Mattos. 1793: Jesaia de Clava and his son Semuel. The former was a poet. Adar Risson 5, 5532, the *mahamad* of Amsterdam accorded him leave to print[169] "a book of songs on the festival of Purim in Spanish." The thin brochure which was published there in the same year[170] does not appear to have enriched its

[165] *Registro dos despachos,* ff. 32, 45, 62, 63, 81, 85, 87, 93, 94, 96, 120, 130, 192, 202. [No. 2, p. 97; No. 5, p. 112.]

[166] Jeudit da Costa Andrade and her family received tickets for their passage to Jamaica, February 27, 1770, but they departed only on the following October 29th for London. Did they remain there or continue thence their voyage to the Antilles? *Registro dos despachos,* ff. 85, 93.

[167] *Sermão que pregou em Pasqua de Pesah em Casa do Senhor Moseh Curiel . . . . Samuel da Silva de Miranda medico & theologo. E com o devido rendimento o dedica, ofrece, & consagra, ao Merito, & Generosidade do muy Ilustre Senhor Abraham da Costa Andrada,* Amsterdam, 5450, 4 folios, 26 pages.

[168] In "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vii, p. 67, he is called "Haham de Cordoza."

[169] *Registro das permiçoems para a imprenta,* p. 3.

[170] *Cancion de Purim. Establecido sobre su historia, para celebracion, y gusto deste tiempo. Echo por un Anonimo, y ahora nuevamenta sacado del Hebraico, y puesto en Caracteres Españoles, corrigido, y trahido a la estampa, por Jesaiu Clava,* Amsterdam, G. J. Janson, *en caza de* Isr. Mondovy, 5532, 39 pages.

author. 1802: Daniel Rodrigues Lopes, with his wife and three children. In all likelihood he was the grandson of Mosseh de David Rodrigues Lopes, circumcized in Amsterdam [171] at the age of four years.

VII. Tobago.

The Dutch (1632, 1654, 1666), the Spanish (1632), the French (1677, 1681, 1803) and the English (1666, 1755, 1793, 1814) held Tobago [172] successively or even simultaneously. To-day it is a British colony. During the changes in its sovereignty the Jews of Tobago lived harassed existences but some of them withstood all these vicissitudes.

Among the applicants for dowries to the Santa Companhia of Amsterdam [173] were Sara, daughter of Daniel Peres of Tobago, in 1662. About this time Deborah, wife of the poet Daniel Levi de Barrios, died in this island, as he informs us.[174] The name Tobago is preserved in a branch of the Fernandez family to which David Fernandez Tobago,[175] a printer at the beginning of the eighteenth century, belonged.

VIII. Nevis.

We have very little information from the Jewish angle concerning the Lesser Antilles in the possession of Great Britain, to which group of islands Nevis belongs. England captured it in 1628. Presumably the Jews were numerous in the Lesser Antilles about 1694 and 1701,[176] although Nevis is not specifically referred to. What is certain, however, is that the Nevis community was organized in 1688 and had a synagogue. These

[171] *Livro das circunsisoms feitas por Mosseh Abarbanel.*

[172] Elias Regnault, *Histoire des Antilles,* p. 133. [No. 16, *passim;* No. 17, pp. 57, 69.]

[173] *Santa Companhia,* Amsterdam, *livro c,* f. 154 *verso.*

[174] *Triumphal carro de la perfeccion.*

[175] He printed David Netto's *Bakasoth de Ros Asana,* folio in octavo, 14 pages. [No. 2, p. 30; No. 3, p. 18.]

[176] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 495; vol. xii, p. 509. [No. 20, p. 160.]

facts are indicated in the historically important verses of the indefatigable Daniel Levi de Barrios:[177]

Ya, en seis ciudades anglas, se publica
luz de seis juntas de Israël sagradas:
tres en Nieves, London, Iamaica;
Quarta y quinta en dos partes de Barbadas;
Sexta en Madras Patân se vérifica.

I do not think this extract has been sufficiently considered by historians since it reveals the existence of Jewish communities at Nevis in the West Indies and Madras in India about 1688. Speaking of Nevis I note that the trader Jacob Alvares, "of our island of Nevis in America," was granted letters of denization by the king of England,[178] April 14, 1725.

IX. St. Eustatia.

This island, for centuries in the control of Holland, does not seem to have had any Jewish inhabitants prior to the eighteenth century, unless, indeed, some Jews strayed there from Curaçao.

The following is a list of Jewish emigrants from Amsterdam for St. Eústatia[179] in the eighteenth century:

1769: Joseph d'Ishac Mesquita de Lima. 1771: Joseph Baesa, whose surname recalls Cathalina Rodriguez Bacza, burned at the stake for the sacred cause of Judaism in the *auto da fé* celebrated in Seville,[180] November 30, 1735. 1772: David d'Isaac Pretto Henriq[ue]z. 1774: S[amuel d'Isaac] M[endes] Balborda.

The temporary conquest in 1781 of St. Eustatia by the English put an end to this immigration. A large number of Jews fled from the island to St. Thomas.[181]

[177] *Historia Real de la Gran Bretaña,* pp. 55-56.

[178] British Museum, Add. MSS., 36129, f. 256.

[179] *Registro dos despachos,* ff. 84, 100, 121.

[180] *Relacion del auto particular de fe que celebró el Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion de la Ciudad de Sevilla el dia 30 de noviembre de este año de 1725. en el Real Convento de San Pablo,* Sevilla, M[igue]l de los Rios, 1725, 7 pages.

[181] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. xii, p. 510. [No. 11, p. 149 *et seq.*, 192; No. 28, p. 213 *et seq.*]

MORE ABOUT JACOB BARSIMSON, THE FIRST JEWISH SETTLER IN NEW YORK.

By Samuel Oppenheim.

When Jacob Barsimson arrived in New Amsterdam on August 22, 1654, on the good ship *de Pereboom (the Pear-tree)*[1] no objection was made to his stay by Governor Stuyvesant and the latter's council. This was because he came under a passport,[2] as one of a party of emigrants from Holland sent by the Dutch West India Company to help populate its new colony in North America.[3]

When, however, twenty-three Jews arrived in New Amsterdam a fortnight later, or about September 7, 1654, as involuntary passengers on the ship *St. Charles,* diverted by pirates from their intended voyage from Brazil to Holland after the occupation of Recife in Pernambuco by the Portuguese, Stuyvesant wrote to the directors of the company abroad objecting to the stay of these newcomers in the colony and to any further emigration of Jews thither.[4] These twenty-three had no passports.

Stuyvesant's objections and their effect upon the directors became known to the representatives of the Jews in Amsterdam, who were mainly Portuguese. These at once sent in to the directors a remonstrance, dated in January, 1655, in which they stated that they understood obstacles were being placed against the issuance of passports or permits to Jews to go to New Netherland, and in which they pointed out reasons why their coreligionists should be permitted to settle in the new colony. These Portuguese Jews called special attention to the fact that the Dutch West India Company had by a

[1] *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 18, p. 3.

[2] See *infra.*

[3] See "Year Book of the Holland Society of New York for 1902," p. 5, *et seq.; cf. Publications, supra,* No. 2, p. 77.

[4] *Publications, supra,* No. 18, pp. 4, 5, 68.

general resolution consented that those who wished to populate the colony should enjoy certain districts of land *gratis*. The land, there, they said, was extensive and spacious. The more of loyal people, like the Jews were, going there to live, they remarked, the better it was in regard to the population of the country as in regard to the payment of various excises and taxes that might be imposed there, and also in regard to the increase of trade and to the importation of all the necessaries that might be sent there. They asked, why should certain subjects of Holland, Jews, who had resided and been settled in Holland for many years, many being burghers or citizens, be excepted from the privilege of emigrating? They instanced the fact that the French and English were allowing the emigration of Jews to their colonial territories, and urged that transportation should not be refused by the Dutch to their coreligionists, particularly to a land that needed people for its increase.[5]

Stuyvesant's objections were thereupon overruled by the directors, and, under an order dated February 15, 1655, Jews were allowed to travel to, live in, and trade to and in the new colony.[6]

This remonstrance confirms what is otherwise well known about the attempts of the Dutch West India Company to induce emigration to New Netherland, and indicates that the Jews of Holland considered themselves as included among those appealed to in those attempts. This inclusion was recognized by the directors by their grant of settlement to the Jews. The company had at first, in circulars widely distributed, offered certain "freedoms and exemptions" to intending colonists and patroons, and later, a short time before Barsimson came over, had continued to make many further tempting offers to induce a larger emigration.[7] Gov-

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[7] See the approved Freedoms and Exemption of 1650, printed in "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," vol. 1, p. 400 *et seq.* Those of prior date need no citation.

ernors, under their appointment, ruled the colony, at first autocratically but later with a council representing the people. The church authorities also exercised considerable influence in the affairs of the colony. Passports were necessary for settlers from abroad, and under an order of the council, to be referred to further on, colonists were not suffered to leave without permission.

After Stuyvesant's objections were overruled a number of Jews went to New Amsterdam from Holland. They must have gone under regularly issued passports, the issuance of which to Jews, according to the remonstrance, had been held up pending a decision on the objections. It also appears from the letter of *Domine* Johannes Megapolensis, the Dutch minister in New Netherland, to his superiors, the Classis of Amsterdam, dated March 18, 1655, expressing his apprehensions in regard to Jewish emigration, that the Jews who arrived in the new colony early in 1655, after the special leave granted for their settlement here, reported that many more of their brethren would follow and soon build a synagogue in New Amsterdam.[8] The difficulties which the newcomers soon encountered, and about which they no doubt wrote to their brethren abroad, apparently delayed or prevented the further influx which the *Domine* feared and the building of a synagogue at that time. Under a ruling of the directors worship in private houses was permitted.

A careful consideration of the facts shown by the remonstrance and other writings referred to in this paper, and clear inferences therefrom, and bearing in mind surrounding circumstances relating to the affairs of the Jews in Brazil and Europe just previously, lead to the conclusions that Jacob Barsimson, the first Jewish settler in New Amsterdam, went from Holland at the instance of the Jews of old Amsterdam; that he would hardly likely have gone without the encouragement of those Jews; that his journey was preliminary to the

[8] *Publications, supra,* No. 18, pp. 49, 50, 73, 74.

sending of additional members of the race thither, pursuant to a plan to provide for those driven from Brazil; and that the accidental arrival in New Amsterdam in September, 1654, of the twenty-three Jews from Brazil, and Stuyvesant's objections to their stay, halted activity abroad in promoting further Jewish emigration to America. This appears particularly from the reference in the remonstrance to obstacles being placed to the issuance of permits or passports to Portuguese Jews, implying that such passports had been issued or were ready to be issued, and that Jews were about to emigrate. The removal of the obstacles to the issuance of these passports and the talk by new arrivals in New Amsterdam of soon building a synagogue there connote, with other facts, a definite plan then formed for the extensive emigration of Jews from abroad.

The fact of the issuance of a passport to Jacob Barsimson has not heretofore been noted except incidentally by the present writer.[9] That fact appears in a decision rendered January 30, 1657, by Stuyvesant and his council on an appeal from a judgment of the *Burgomaster* and *Schepens,* sitting as a court, in a suit that had been brought by Barsimson in April, 1655, against Jacob Janssen Huys, the skipper of *de Pereboom* on which Barsimson had come in 1654. No copy or translation of this decision has ever been published. It is referred to elsewhere by the writer in brief substance, so far as the points in dispute and the result of the appeal are concerned but not mentioning the reference to the passport.[10]

In looking recently at the Dutch copy of this decision and being now more familiar than formerly with old Dutch, the writer noticed certain words to which he had not paid particular attention in his earlier examination of the record.

[9] See *The American Hebrew,* September 30, 1921; also an item contributed, among other items, by the writer to I. N. Phelps Stokes' monumental "Iconography of Manhattan Island," vol. iv (the Chronology), p. 152, *sub dato* August 22, 1654.

[10] *Publications, supra,* No. 18, p. 62.

That examination was made of the original Dutch for the purpose of learning the result of the appeal. No translation of the whole record was then attempted, and if the words alluded to had been observed, their significance was not then appreciated because of the obscurity of their meaning. These words have now become important in the present connection. They were used by Stuyvesant in his decision when he spoke of the contents of a *licent brief* under which Jacob Barsimson and his fellow-passenger, described as Jacob de Aboaff (probably a misspelling of Aboab), had travelled on *de Pereboom* from Holland. On consulting Dutch dictionaries, and after correspondence with a recognized authority on old Dutch and New Netherland MSS., it was found that the words *licent brief* meant in this connection a permit or passport. In other connections they have the meaning of invoice for imports or taxes on goods imported. This may have been considered by the writer the correct reading while preparing his earlier essay, but is now found to be inappropriate. The reading of these words as meaning a passport is confirmed by the reference, in the cited remonstrance of the Amsterdam Jews, to the issuance of permits or passports to emigrants, the Dutch there being given as *parmissie ofte passporten,* or permits or passports; and is also confirmed by the fact, as stated in the decision, that the document was issued by the directors of the Dutch West India Company. Stuyvesant, a Dutchman, used the old Dutch form for passport while the Portuguese Jews used a foreign term. When meaning "invoice" Stuyvesant used the word *factura* in the decision.

In his suit, Barsimson alleged that Jacob Aboaf, a fellow-passenger on the ship, forcibly and against his objections, took certain goods, from his, Barsimson's, chest, which lay under the deck of the ship, and proceeded therewith to shore as the vessel was at anchor opposite Wight, England; that he, Barsimson, complained to the skipper of the violence and

requested aid against it, and protested against the skipper's refusal to give such aid. He demanded the value of the goods taken. This the court below allowed him, he to prove the amount.[11]

The decision on the appeal, which conditionally reversed that of the lower court, was written by Stuyvesant. The following, now published for the first time, is a translation from a copy obtained by the writer from the archives at the Capitol in Albany, N. Y., before the fire there in 1911.[12] The original is now half burnt, and what remains is almost undecipherable. A photostat copy has been filed with the Society.

30 January, 1657. Tuesday.

At a meeting. Present, as before, the Hon. Director General and Council of New Netherland, Nicasius de Sille and Peter Tonneman.

Examined the papers, documents and arguments produced and delivered by Jacob Barsimson, Jew, complainant, and Allard Antony, in his quality of attorney for Jacob Jansz. Huijs, skipper of the ship *de Pereboom,* now appealing from the decision of the *Burgomaster* and *Schepens* of this city, dated 25th September, 1656, as shown by the papers produced.

The documents and arguments produced were read, re-read and examined by the Director General and Council of New Netherland, and what else might be useful in the matter considered and weighed. No sufficient proof is found in the papers produced to enable us to know whether the goods which Jacob de Aboaf (as complained of) took out of the chest belonged to Aboaff or to the complainant Jacob Barsimon, his partner. For this purpose only a simple declaration by the complainant himself is produced in his favor. This cannot legally as against an absent defendant be properly received, especially as the best is to be presumed regarding an absent defendant and also, because in justice, correct conduct is to be accepted and believed in, and (always until the contrary is sufficiently shown by the complainant) because the goods complained about (the quality and quantity of which were taken out of the chest being already shown) were not more the property of the Jew Barsimson than of his comrade (and particularly because he

[11] "Records of New Amsterdam," vol. ii, pp. 173-4.

[12] "New York Colonial MSS.," vol. viii, pp. 439-441.

took the same by daylight in the presence of the ship's people and not stealthily by night), and especially as they both have been classed as partners and as they were in company, as is seen by the common passport [*licent brief*] of the Lords Directors and by the mutual use of the chest and consequent commonalty of the goods in the chest to which they mutually always had access. Therefore the Director General and Council adjudge and decide that the aforesaid decision was wrong and properly appealed from. They decide and adjudge that the complainant Jacob Barsimson shall first, as aforesaid, sufficiently prove by himself or by credible witnesses, acceptable in law, whether, in the invoice [*factura*] of the goods as given in by him, the goods alleged to be missing, or to have been taken from the chest by Jacob de Aboaf, were in the chest and were the complainant's own or consigned to him alone and not to Jacob de Aboaff, or came to them together, and that the same, at the time of his complaint and protest to Jacob Jansz. Huijs, in his quality as skipper, and not before, had been taken out of the chest by Jacob de Aboaff and carried away, which being done further proceedings may be had for the payment sued for either against Jacob Jansz. himself, in his quality as skipper, because of failure to administer justice, or against the defendant Jew, Jacob de Aboaff, in his quality as transgressor and violator, whichever the complainant may think advisable; and the judge, according to law, shall vacate the attachment laid by the complainant upon the goods in the hands of Allard Antonij, in his quality as attorney for Jacob Jansz. Huijs. And the complainant is provisionally condemned in costs and disbursements of justice. Thus done at a meeting held at Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland. Dated as above.

P. Stuyvesant
Nicasius de Sille
Pieter Tonneman.

The passport issued to Barsimson in July, 1654 when he set sail from Holland for New Amsterdam was an incident arising out of the situation in which his coreligionists, the Jews of Brazil, found themselves after the Dutch surrendered Recife in Pernambuco to the Portuguese in January, 1654. The connection between his emigration and the events in Brazil has not heretofore been adverted to, and attention should be called thereto and also to its relation to the efforts made shortly after this time by Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Jews to

obtain permission from Cromwell for the resettlement of their coreligionists in England from which they had been excluded since 1290. When the history of the Jews in Brazil comes to be fully written up from original sources, and not as heretofore from secondary accounts, many interesting facts bearing upon the connection of that history with the history of the Jews in New Netherland and in England will be found. The writer is engaged in the preparation of a preliminary sketch on these lines, to be complemented later by further items from the Dutch records which though rich in data are, because of loss of many documents, not complete for a full account of the Jews in Brazil.

The Jews in Brazil between 1630 and 1654 had been treated under Dutch rule as on an equality with the other inhabitants, and many Jews had emigrated to that country from abroad, under the alluring offer of protection, under the ægis of the Dutch, from religious persecution. Although at first, as later in New Netherland, there was opposition by the ecclesiastical authorities, such opposition was unsuccessful against the strong barrier of the charter granted to the Jews by the supreme powers of Holland. Brazil after 1654 being no longer comfortable as a permanent residence and trading place for Jews, the next available Dutch possession was looked to for their home. That of Curaçao nearby had been utilized since 1650 when conditions in Brazil were becoming unstable during the insurrection of the Portuguese there, assisted by the crown of Portugal. That island, however, was not sufficiently attractive nor roomy for a larger Jewish emigration like the earlier one to Brazil. Guiana had not been considered as a home while war raged in Brazil, and was only opened by the Dutch for colonization about 1656 or 1657. Martinique, a French possession, although harboring some Jews was also not a place which they could safely rely upon for complete protection. Barbados, an English island, in which there were a few Jews, under sufferance, was also not alluring for many settlers. Jamaica was a Spanish possession where Jews were certainly

not welcome as a body or singly. It was captured by the English in 1655. The fame of New Netherland, described in the remonstrance quoted from above as extensive and spacious, was known to the Dutch abroad. The freedoms and exemptions of 1650, already referred to, which were offered to all people obedient to Holland rule, wishing to go to the new colony in North America, naturally suggested themselves, after January, 1654, to the heads of the Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam, who had charge of providing for their exiled brethren, as ones to be availed of. Hence the determined efforts of the Amsterdam Jews, as seen from the remonstrance above quoted from, when news reached them of Stuyvesant's objections to the stay of their twenty-three compatriots from Brazil and the effect of those objections upon the Dutch West India Company directors, to make sure of such emigration and the success which attended those efforts, as is also seen by the action of the directors on their application.

All this, in connection with what has already been presented, has a significant bearing upon the well-known later tentative efforts of the Holland Jews, through their celebrated Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, to bring about a resettlement of the Jews in England, about which so much has been written and much undiscovered remains to be written. Though the remonstrance of the Holland Jews states that some of their coreligionists had been permitted to reside in London and others allowed by the English to go to British possessions in America, Jews were not yet given that liberty in those places accorded to them elsewhere under Dutch rule, and resided there only on suffrance.

It will be remembered that the personal efforts of Menasseh ben Israel to obtain the consent of Cromwell to the reëntry of the Jews into England, whence they had been excluded since 1290, were made more than a year after the first arrival of the Jews in New Amsterdam in September, 1654, and almost a year after February 15, 1655, when they were officially

authorized to settle there. Menasseh ben Israel himself went to London in October, 1655, and his "Humble Address" to Cromwell was made in November of that year.[13] The Whitehall conference deliberating upon that "Address" took place in the following month.[14] The efforts of Menasseh before that time, beginning in 1649 when the outlook for the continuance of the Dutch power in Brazil began to be very dark, were mainly theoretical or unfruitful and led nowhere. He was familiar with conditions in Brazil, having intended to go thither and been dissuaded by his coreligionists in Amsterdam in 1640. His efforts with the English arose from his and his associates' interest in the welfare of the Holland Jews when the Portuguese warfare in Brazil became too vigorous for the comfort of the Dutch and Jews there and not from an interest in any emigration of Dutch Jews to England. Menasseh ben Israel is reported to have informed Nieuport, the Dutch Ambassador in England in 1655, that his efforts for the readmission of the Jews to England related to the Jews who were sitting in the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal and not to the Jews of Holland.[15]

That Menasseh ben Israel's acts were in coöperation with or directed by the Amsterdam Jews—if not by the synagogue then by what might be termed the Jewish welfare authorities of that time,—is to be presumed, as, without such coöperation, he could not carry out any plan for the benefit of the Jews, and as after his death, efforts in the same direction were made by other prominent Jews of Holland, acting in coöperation. His efforts, as shown by the records, became more earnest after the difficulties encountered by the Jews in New Netherland, of which he had no doubt been

[13] Lucien Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel and his Mission to Oliver Cromwell," London, 1901, pp. xxxvi, 73-103, 161.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.

[15] See *ibid.*, p. xli; "State Papers of John Thurloe," vol. iv, p. 233.

informed. We may well conclude, from the facts known to us, that such efforts by the Dutch Jews and Menasseh ben Israel would not have been so earnestly made in the latter part of 1655 if Stuyvesant had not raised the objections he did and if the prejudice of the church authorities and some others in the colony against the newcomers had not become so pronounced on their arrival and for some time thereafter, though modified after several years of residence there; particularly as shown specifically in the case of David deFerera, of which a full account was given by the writer in his earlier paper,[16] and by other details given in the same paper. More Jews, including wealthy merchants, would have gone to New Netherland and there would not then have been the pressure upon the Jews in Holland to find a suitable settling place for their fugitive coreligionists and a further outlet for their trade, the latter of which mainly was sought by the Dutch Jews in their efforts with England. Of the prominent Holland Jews who went to New Amsterdam early in 1655 we may instance Joseph daCosta, a principal shareholder of the Dutch West India Company and a leading wealthy merchant of Amsterdam and president in 1650 of the *Parnassim* of the Amsterdam congregation, being a brother of the celebrated Uriel da Costa. To Joseph, Menasseh ben Israel dedicated his Spanish edition of the "Hope of Israel," in 1650.[17]

Thus, it may well be urged that it was because of the settlement of the Jews in New Netherland and because of the unfriendly treatment they received soon after their arrival, though not later, that the early resettlement of the Jews in England was hastened. This suggestion would be practically confirmed if it should appear that the petition or remonstrance of the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam to the Dutch West India Company of January, 1655, alluded to above, was signed by Menasseh ben Israel with the others. The

[16] *Publications, supra,* No. 18, pp. 54-56, 77-87.

[17] *Ibid., passim;* Isaac DaCosta, "Israel and the Gentiles," London, 1850, p. 423 note.

copy of that petition, as preserved, does not give the names of the signers. These names may be found later. More can probably be ascertained on this and other points relating to this subject if access, now denied, could be had to the records of the old Jewish congregation in Amsterdam, heretofore inaccessible to investigators. Private sources among the Jews in that city may contain valuable data.

That there must be, in such records and sources, information about America may reasonably be inferred from the following heretofore unpublished extract from a letter written by a certain Isaac Rodrigues Cunha (about whom no information is at hand) late in October, 1654 (Hesvan 2, 5415), about three months after Barsimson left Holland, to the *Mahamad* (the governing body) of the Jewish congregation in Curaçao, a Dutch possession in America, relative to Jacob Aboaf who went with Barsimson from Holland and who stopped off at the Isle of Wight. The name of the island is given in the original Spanish letter as *Blanca,* meaning white. The sending of this letter shows the interest of the Holland Jews in the emigration to the new country. Curaçao was also under the administration of Stuyvesant and had a regularly established Jewish colony, as appears from documentary evidence relating to New Netherland.

This extract was supplied to the writer by Rev. Joseph M. Corcos who had been minister to the Jewish congregation in Curaçao in 1897, in which year he published a monograph on the Jews of that place. In 1921 he was in New York as *ad interim* minister of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation there, the oldest in the city. He then informed the writer that, while examining the records of the congregation in Curaçao for material for his monograph, he had come across a reference in old Spanish to Jacob Aboaf or Aboab in 1654, of which he had made a copy. The whole letter he had not copied. The original is probably still in Curaçao and a full copy ought to be obtained as soon as possible, with other contemporary data to be found there relating to

the early Jews in America. A translation of the extract, a copy of the Spanish of which as supplied by Mr. Corcos is subjoined making allowance for probable errors in copying or in the original, is as follows:

The young nephew I. Abohab because of the turbulence of the sea had to leave the ship at the Isle of Wight. Afterwards he was refused admission and found it necessary to continue his voyage in the same vessel.

Letter dated Hesvan 2, 5415 [about October 20, 1654], addressed to the Illustrious Gentlemen, the *Mahamad* of the Holy Congregation Mikveh Israel, Curaçao. [Signed,] Ishak Rodrigues Cunha.[18]

The writer of the letter was misinformed as to Aboab's returning or continuing on the same vessel. It is possible that he was returned to Holland on the same vessel, but it is clear from the records that he did not come on *de Pereboom* to New Amsterdam. The details given in the lawsuit between Barsimson and the skipper of that ship make no allusion to Aboab or Aboaf being on the vessel after he had left it opposite Wight. The accounts of the treasurer of the colony mentioning Barsimson and Aboaf, referred to in the earlier paper already alluded to, distinctly state that Aboaf did not arrive with Barsimson but stopped off in England. He was credited with the whole of the passage money which he would have had to pay if he had arrived in the new colony. That he returned to Holland is implied by the letter, the writer of which probably obtained his information direct from Aboaf or possibly from a communication from Barsimson.

[18] El goben sobrino I. Abohab por maldad de la marea tuvo ha abandonar el varco em la ysla Bianca empues fue recusado la entrada è encontrago minister ha contenuar el viage en ansina mesmo varco. *Goben* is probably intended for *joven*. *Maldad de la marea* may have been intended to mean sea-sickness, but a literal translation is here given. *Varco* is apparently an old form for *barco*. *Empues* is obsolete for *después*. *Minister* is probably intended for *menester*, the word before it, *encontrago*, being probably intended for *encontrado*. The word *viage* has a line through it in the copy, and may have been so in the original. *Mesmo varco* or *barco* may be "in a similar ship." *Ansina* is obsolete for *asi*.

In connection with Barsimson a further new fact may be mentioned in regard to the application made by him and Asser Levy on November 5, 1655, for relief from taxation for an enforced exemption from military duty.[19] The decision on that application stated that if the petitioners were not satisfied with the ordinance imposing the taxation, consent would be given them to leave when and whither they wished. This meant that they would not be forced to remain and compelled to pay the tax. As we know, they both did guard duty thereafter, though exactly when the decision of the Governor was modified to enable them to do so does not appear. We know they protested at the time and that a couple of years later the records show that Asser Levy stated that he did such guard duty, and presumably so also did Jacob Barsimson. The modification was probably due to some communication from the directors abroad, a copy of which has thus far not been found (many of the old documents being lost or unavailable), or because of Stuyvesant's conclusion later that it was impolitic to enforce the ordinance relative to military duty by the Jews. The fact to which attention is now called is that Barsimson and Asser Levy could not, under an order made about ten days previously, applicable to all colonists, leave the colony without the consent of the director and council. This order directed that no one be permitted to leave the country unless he have already resided there at least twelve months.[20] This was in line with the policy of preventing depopulation. There had been frequent talk, in official correspondence, of the decay into which the colony was falling. Stuyvesant's reply to Barsimson and Asser Levy stated that such consent would be given if wanted. His decision is thus apparently less curt than it has heretofore been considered to be.

[19] *Publications, supra,* No. 18, pp. 24-25.

[20] "New York Colonial MSS.," vol. vi, p. 120: October 26, 1655; see "Calendar of New York Historical MSS.," vol. i, p. 154.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF REBECCA GRATZ.

Contributed by David Philipson.

During a recent visit to Lexington, Kentucky, I had the pleasure of forming the personal acquaintance of Mrs. Thomas Henry Clay,[1] the last surviving child of Benjamin Gratz and a niece of Rebecca Gratz. In the course of a most interesting and revelatory conversation, Mrs. Clay, whose cultivated mind is a storehouse of valuable historical data and reminiscences, informed me that she had in her possession a large number of letters that had been written by Rebecca Gratz to her brother Benjamin and her two sisters-in-law, his wives. I sensed at once that here was possibly an unexpected and important discovery that might prove of great value. I urged Mrs. Clay to place these letters at my disposal. She acceded graciously to my request. My supposition as to the value of the letters was more than realized when I had the opportunity to examine the very interesting correspondence.

The letters number several hundred and extend over more than half a century, namely from 1808 to 1866. Although devoted largely to family concerns still the letters contain much that transcends the narrow family circle. Events of the day are mentioned and dwelt upon, books of recent appearance are discussed, men and women in the public eye are referred to. The reader of these epistles feels that he is

[1] Mrs. Anna Gratz Clay was the youngest child of Benjamin Gratz, by his second wife Ann Crosby Shelby. Thomas Henry Clay, her deceased husband, was a grandson of the great statesman Henry Clay. See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 16, p. 32; No. 17, p. 87; No. 22, p. 53.

perusing the outpourings of an unusual personality. The letters are pervaded with a deep religious feeling and a broad humanity which stamp the writer to have been not only a devout Jewess, but a noble woman whose charity knew no creed and whose interests were as wide as her heart was warm and her impulses unselfish. These *lettres intimes* verify the traditions that have descended about Rebecca Gratz's loveliness of character and elevation of spirit. The famous portrait of Rebecca Gratz by Sully, which is in Mrs. Clay's possession, shows her to have been beautiful in feature; these letters reveal her to have been as beautiful in character as in visage. I am presenting in this paper three of the letters, either in their entirety or in portions. It is my purpose to prepare the entire correspondence for publication at a later date.

I.

Sept. 21*st* 1833

It is three weeks my own dear Sister since I have written to you—but my thoughts have visited you every day—and my love accompanies you every hour and dwells with you all unceasingly—since my return home—Elizabeth[2] has been ill and is still in her chamber—my household has been damaged for the want of servants and the duties of nurse, superadded to that of overseer has kept me busy and made me stupid—so I had compassion on you, and kept silence—perhaps too, I was not willing to appear before you under such disadvantages for you have said so much to raise my vanity—that I could not more effectually prove how I had profited by your commendations than by keeping my dullness out of view—but there are times, dear, when the veil must be dropped and our real characters be seen in all their deformities—such a period for self examination approaches. To morrow will be the day of Atonement—and tho' I believe the Eye of God is upon us every day with the same unerring judgment—the same pardoning Mercy—it is well when we search our own hearts, and desire to acknowledge our sins—that we look for motives as well as actions, and when I thought of offering an apology to you, the truth came so straight before me that I could not help telling you, your praise was so sweet to my heart, that knowing it was undeserved

[2] Apparently a faithful servitor.

was hardly enough to make me relinquish it—and I rather chose not to write at all—than to do it in a manner to tire you quite—

Now my home anxiety has abated I begin to feel a little concerned for the want of your accustomed letter and tho' Dear Bens letter to Hyman informed us that you were still at Canewood[3]—and I can realize how fully and engrossingly your mind is occupied in scenes so hallowed to tender recollections—so full of the tenderest and dearest thoughts & memories—yet My Beloved Sister I must covet a little very little of your attention—just to say that your mind is recovering its equanimity and that your dear boys & yourself are well—

Jo returned about 10 days ago and Jac, this afternoon—so our family party is complete—& Sally Minis[4] is still our guest—her brother was charmed with his visit to you, and brought away such impressions, as you never fail to make on your visitors—I am ashamed to confess that I have seen little of your country woman Mrs M'Ilvaine, for in truth Elizabeths illness has prevented my receiving any company & I have not sought her again—I received a letter from Mr. Blair the other day, and expect to have your niece in Phila this winter as a pupil to Mrs. Sigorgnes—Sarah is delighted with the anticipation of having her as a companion—tho' I believe she will not return to school again—there seems to be so much required at home to complete education—that a year or two is necessary to devote to study before a young lady makes her debut, and all Sarahs' class mates left her last winter—she is full of vivacity & enthusiasm & I believe a boarding school is too much an epitome of fashionable life to be the safest place for regulating the taste & feelings of a girl approaching womanhood—God Grant I may be successful in this arduous task with my sweet Sarah she resembles her mother[5] in so many points that I am constantly reminded of my promises & my loss— . . . . . —how comes on your Orphan Society?[6] a Young Woman several years Teacher in ours (Miss Haydock) who was everyway qualified to take charge of an institution is somewhere in your state—she went to visit a Brother living in Smithland or Smithton

[3] The ancestral home and country-seat of the family of Mrs. Benjamin Gratz.

[4] Later the wife of Dr. Isaac Hays nephew of Rebecca Gratz.

[5] Rachel Gratz Moses, who died in 1823 leaving a large family of children whom Rebecca Gratz reared.

[6] Mrs. Benjamin Gratz was the founder of the Orphan Society of Lexington. This organization with its home for orphans is still in existence. Rebecca Gratz was one of the founders of the Philadelphia society and its secretary for forty years.

Ky—and just when we were expecting her back—received intelligence that she was going to be married—should she be in Lexington, she might be induced to accept a situation in your asylum & would be very valuable—I did not hear the name of her intended husband—and mention her because if she visits your city she will probably make herself known to you—and may suggest some useful hints in the way of her profession—tell My beloved brother & your children how devotedly I love them—and accept dearest Maria the warm affections of your Sisters heart Adieu Yr RG

II.

You have taught me one thing My dear Sister and it is right you should profit by it—to scan my letters before I send them, and if they will not bear a second persual at home not to send them on their destined course—and so with a sheet full of idle thoughts which I penned in the shadow of a closing Year—When my Dove had gone forth and could find no rest for the sole of its foot—and a flood of anticipated evils were overwhelming my (what you call regulated) mind—I have taken council by your example and condemned the paper to the fire—how many out pourings of the heart are thus devoted! traced "in tears that coursed down the writers cheek fast as the periods from their fluent pens"—but this I cannot withhold because I experienced its power that writing to you acted like the harp of David on the vexed spirit of the King—and by the time my paper was full—I looked for the grief of which I complained and found it not—but I remember that your affection and My dear Brothers sometimes construes silence, into causes for anxiety, and so as I do not know that any one has written since the year commenced, I just come to greet you with warm wishes for your continued happiness through many circles of revolving time—and to tell you that all you love here, love you most truly & devotedly—that you are the theme of every days discourse—and cited as the point to which all our young folks direct their ambition! Sarah said the other night—that Aunt Maria was the only being she would be willing to change herself into—now when you take into consideration the bright visions which float in the enthusiastic brain at sweet Sixteen—the aspirations after unattainable bliss & perfections of all kind you will appreciate how highly you & yours are held—I think you will be delighted in the improvements of your little favorite—she has so much brightness—so much joy in her heart that one can scarcely wish to see with other eyes than hers—the map she sketches for her life's journey yet what says

experience? you will answer, nothing to pluck one feather from the wing of hope for—and I—My Sister—with the memory of many sorrows and disappointments may still encourage her thus far, that if she misses the favorite path to happiness she may find another leading to content. I can never realize the picture some moralists draw of this good world—calling it by such hard names—that one would think God had withdrawn his favor from the beautiful planet he created in love—and bestowed all His treasures on another State in which the beings he has placed in this must centre all their joys—now how can we mixed creatures of clay be fitted for celestial transports if in this our probationary sphere no glimpse of heaven can be made visible, no touch of happiness enter into our hearts—the soul that is within us would not be prisoned during all our natural lives in such a world and after be fitted for such a heaven, as we can conceive of—if this blessed earth were such a den of care & sorrow—

I received a note from one of my neighbours a few days ago, requesting the loan of *my* bible, as she found according to *hers* the time was *near at hand* when the Jews would be gathered to their own land—on returning it she expressed in another note her joy at finding my bible the same she used—she begged me not to let the light that was in me be darkness—"but daily to examine myself—and have regard to my soul"—by studying the scriptures etc—and she is so earnest that I cannot help being obliged to her—tho she send me more books than I can read—and should try to canonize herself by my conversion—thank God I have the law & the prophets and am willing to hear them.

I do not know how long My dear Sister, I should continue to write on, if I were not very disagreeably interrupted by some ladies of the Orphan Society—who wish me to add something to the annual report—before tomorrow's meeting—a manager died last summer and alas! I had forgotten her—now her friends come to me for an epitaph, do not begin with such compliments my dear Sister secretary or you establish a precedent—we have lost some members, whom I loved—and whose services deserved commemorating—but to be obliged to say something for every one of the twenty four—to whom perhaps belonged no further notice than that they lived—was a member & died—is too hard a task, particularly when you have congratulated yourself that the board had accepted your work, and it was done—I beg you will send me your book of laws—of which acknowledge the authorship to Miriam—we are about to revise our school regulations and should be glad to borrow such as would suit us from you—

And now I am mentioning your letter to M—let me tell you how I wept for joy that I had such a brother as your dear Husband to buy that afflicted Mother & daughter, from the base servitude to which they were doomed, and my knowledge of his feelings & character made me anticipate the issue before I turned the page on which with such sweet words you record the act—I hope the poor blacks will prove worthy of his mercy and fit to supply some of your losses—If God did not allow of some noble spirits inhabiting a sable skin her husband & old master would have changed complexions— . . . . . .

God Bless you my own dear Sister—may a long life of happiness be yours—and every new Year find you loving & beloved, as you are at this present time—our Sisters & brothers greet you—and the young folks send love & respect—again accept the benediction of your attached

R Gratz

Jany 6*th* 1834

III.

Aug 27*th* 1840

I received your letter from Canewood My dear sister and was right glad to be carried back in idea to that delightful home scene of your family and the beautiful country I so much admired & enjoyed in the agreeable visit we made there together—I have a thousand times reflected on the bright moon light evenings we passed so quietly wandering about the lawn, or sitting in the shade of the majestic trees conversing of one interesting matter or other, till the forest seemed peopled with their original inhabitants which the footprints of man rarely intruded.

I should like to have made one of your summer party, to have seen your namesake nieces, and heard your observations on the book of Jasher, that extravagant chronicle of bible characters—there is a portion of it very agreeable to me, but so many improbable histories and some impossible exploits—entirely destroyed its credibility, and one cannot but wonder that the author or his translator, could expect it would ever pass for the veritable book of Jasher referred to in the Scriptures. An intelligent hebrew Scholar, raised my expectations so high, in favor of it before it appeared that I confess I was sadly disappointed, when I found it impossible, as I proceeded in the work, to class it with anything better than an old romance—It was very affecting to hear Abraham & Isaac conversing on the sacrifice, as they journeyed to Mount Moriah, and to find that Jacob shared the fortitude and faith that supported them but the introduction of Satan, and his

malignant effect on the life of Jacob is shocking—particularly as the next event recorded in Scripture history is the death of Sarah, it is true she had reached a good old age and in the course of nature, might be called on to resign her life, and happily too, for as a wife & mother she was blessed, and triumphant, but we would rather think she had gone down peacefully to "the place appointed for all living," than to be killed by sudden joy—and the fallen angel the agent. Those who would take the bible history as the foundation of these works should be careful never to violate the spirit and influence of the Sacred book, nor assign motives for events not borne out by its authority—The beautiful history of Joseph too is spoiled in this book—and Moses suffers so many adventures, that we scarcely recognize him as the plain man "meek" & "slow of speech" as he records himself to be but enough of this—we are threading another passage in Jewish story as heart thrilling as any recorded since their dispersion—I mean the massacres at Damascus and the still enduring sufferings of the poor tortured prisoners, who are accused of unnatural & unlawful crimes of which it is impossible they can be guilty—in Europe & America great exertions are making for their relief—there is a meeting to be held this Evening here,[r] and I believe all the community feel an interest in it—Hyman received a very gratifying letter from Dr. Duchesnel offering to cooperate with the Israelites in any measures devised, and saying had a general meeting of citizens been called, our Christian friends would have freely attended—but what can be done, unless the Governments of Civilized Nations combine to save them—the Jews have no representative powers, and can only act in their individual capacities, the support of the countries of which they are citizens—and the application of their wealth to purchase their brothers lives is all that they can do—and perhaps this is as far as human aid can go.

God in his Mercy, may toach the hearts of their oppressors, or break their bonds when all visible means fail.

Jac left us on Tuesday for the West. I was sorry his presence at Bellefonte was required, or I should have liked him to have been here tonight . . . . . you ask about Mr. Moses will—I hear he has left each of his daughters (six in number) $15000 and divided the rest of his property between his sons but have not heard what amount—the house will be sold and his daughter Mrs. M. go to live in Norfolk with her sons. Miss M. has been invited by her nieces to live with them, but I do not know which she will choose, she is independent,

[r] See *Publications supra,* No. 10, p. 122.

worth $20000 I hear— . . . . . I will get Lady Ms " Women & their Manners "—and will then answer your question— . . . . . We have not heard of the Blairs since they went to the Springs but I hope Lizzie is better, or they would certainly have written to Sara as L and she keep up an active correspondence

I hope our dear Ben will be able to make us a visit this fall if Jac goes to Wheeling as he expected, they ought to meet and come home together

I have some doubts whether you will be able to read this letter, for all the materials are bad, and badly used, but may try to decypher enough to convince you of my leal affection dearest Maria for you and all your dear family—Cary's birthday does not pass us by unheeded-Horace claimed our good wishes on the same date—he is away and comfortably employed—God Bless you all with your hearts desire & make you happy prays your true friend and sister R G

THE PALESTINE COLONY IN MICHIGAN.

AN ADVENTURE IN COLONIZATION.

By Gabriel Davidson, LL.M.

In the center of the so-called Thumb District of Michigan, about a hundred and twenty-five miles north of Detroit and fifty miles east of Bay City, there is a small village bearing the odd-sounding name of Bad Axe. The story goes that a great many years ago lumbermen camping at this point found an old axe believed to have been left by the Indians. While one of their number was engaged in chopping down a tree the handle of the axe broke. In his anger he cast it aside execrating it as a bad axe. The scene of this incident became known as the place of the Bad Axe, and the village which in time grew up around it inherited that non-euphonious appellation. Up till about 1884 this district contained vast stretches of heavily timbered country, but in the fall of that year destructive forest fires denuded the land of much of its timber. In 1891, when our story opens, this land was covered with a second growth of scrawny brush and poplar, useless for almost any purpose save fuel, and not too good for that. About four miles from the present village of Bad Axe and right in the heart of the region just described, a dramatic venture in Jewish colonization was enacted.

The *dramatis personæ* of this sketch were with one exception Russian Jews living in Bay City, the exception being a German Jew who lived in Detroit. All had been in this country less than four years, excepting one who had been here eleven years. All were peddlers. This was a period of depression, the precursor of the distressing panic that broke upon the country in 1893. Walking from town to town and from village to village, burdened down with heavy packs, these

Jewish peddlers were barely able to eke out a scanty living for their families. Their contact with farmers naturally turned their minds to farming as a means of improving their condition. This thought took form particularly in the brain of Hyman Lewenberg, the man who had been in this country the longest. He had read of the many efforts at Jewish colonization made in the 'eighties, and conceived the idea of establishing a Jewish colony in Michigan. While peddling around Bad Axe, Lewenberg had become acquainted with Langdon Hubbard and his son, Frank W., bankers and land barons, who owned immense stretches of land in Huron and adjoining counties. Hubbard promised to sell land on easy terms if Lewenberg could bring together a sufficiently large group of Jewish purchasers. These negotiations resulted in the purchase of twelve contiguous parcels of land by Hyman Lewenberg, Aaron Kahn, Wolf Baerman, Sam Eckstein, Joseph Beckman, Moses Rosenberg, Abraham Goldman, Uriah Steinborn, Sam Steinborn, Jacob Lipowsky, Louis Malinoff and Joe Malinoff in July, 1891.

As far as can be ascertained Louis Malinoff bought 20 acres, Joseph Malinoff and Uriah Steinborn 40 acres each, and the rest 60 acres each, thus taking up an entire section of land. The price was $11 an acre for the 60 acre parcels and $12 for the smaller holdings. The peculiar feature of the transaction was the nominal cash payment—about $15 per parcel—a total of less than $200, which was probably all the ready cash of the entire group. Each buyer received a contract providing for payments in five equal annual instalments with interest at the rate of 7% per annum before maturity and 10% thereafter, title to pass after the payment of the full purchase price. Louis Kostikoff, Moses Heidenrich and another bought land in that same autumn upon the same conditions.

The settlers set to work with zest and zeal to establish themselves in their new home and in their new calling. Imbued with the spirit of the true pioneer, they little realized

the stupendous struggle ahead. Attuned to the ideal of establishing a new Zion in free America, they named their new colony Palestine.

Their first tasks were to build small shacks and to clear small patches for fall plowing in preparation for spring planting. A hardware dealer in Bad Axe still remembers selling the saws and axes, implements in the use of which these Jewish peddlers were far from adept. Five or six crude shacks built out of saplings and partially burned logs, each containing one unplastered room with flimsy partitions to separate the sexes, were hastily put together. While the clearing and building were going on, the settlers and their families camped out in the open. When cold weather set in some of the colonists were forced to take their families back to Bay City and to resume peddling during the winter months. Those that remained in the colony were well-nigh destitute and depended for maintenance upon the little pittance which their brothers in Bay City could spare from their meagre earnings. Their condition was at times so desperate that it is a mystery that, they were able to subsist till spring. It is told that a neighboring German farmer, himself in not too affluent circumstances, doled out to them a small supply of milk and a few loaves of home-baked bread daily for a short time until he himself could no longer afford it. Still they struggled on, undaunted and full of hope, to prepare more land and to put up more buildings for the reception of their fellow colonists the following spring.

An important phase in the history of the colony began at this time. A Jewish peddler who had witnessed the colonists' sufferings brought the story of their heroic struggle to Martin Butzel, a prominent Detroit merchant, with whose firm this peddler had had business dealings. Butzel was known for his broad philanthropies and was at that time the president of Temple Beth El Hebrew Relief Society. A close friend of Butzel and also a member of Congregation Beth El was

Emanuel Woodic, an experienced farmer who had had twenty-five years of successful farming back of him. Woodic was then living in the village of Utica, near Detroit, on a small farm whither he had retired when his advancing years and his wife's illness compelled him to give up more active farming operations. The story of Woodic's life is of such absorbing interest, full of adventure and pioneering, and his influence on the life of the colonists was so potent that, at the risk of breaking the continuity of this sketch, it is worth while to digress to give a few of the outstanding incidents of his momentous career.

Arriving in 1854 from Bohemia, at the age of 18, Woodic's first job was on a Long Island, N. Y., farm, where he received the princely wage of $6 per month. Later he hired out on a wrecking vessel cruising in Delaware Bay. In 1856 he enlisted in the United States Army. Almost at the very outset of his military career, he participated in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, being one of the few survivors. At the expiration of his term he reënlisted and served throughout the Civil War. His service record is a remarkable history. It includes, among others, the battles of Bull Run, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and the various battles preceding the evacuation of Richmond. He received a number of wounds, but fortunately none that incapacitated him from service. At the close of the war he was honorably discharged and went to Michigan. There he bought a forty-acre farm in McComb County. For the next twenty-five years, and almost up to the time of the beginning of Bad Axe, he farmed in that section and became known as the foremost farmer in the county, an authority on all farm problems and a leader in the community. Woodic was (1922) a resident of Detroit, a venerable figure, active and virile, despite the burden of 87 years.

To return to the colony. It was natural for Butzel to turn to Woodic as the ideal man to investigate conditions at Bad

Axe. When Woodic arrived in Bad Axe in March, 1892, sixteen farms had been taken up, Reuben Neisuler having joined the colony that spring. The population of the colony was then 57, consisting of 16 men, 7 women, 26 boys and 8 girls. They occupied ten shacks. Some of the wives and children were still in Europe. Not more than an acre or two on each farm had been cleared. The sum total of all the livestock was seven horses and two cows. One of the settlers had brought with him a team with which he had made his peddling rounds, another a single horse. Four horses were bought on time and had not yet been paid for. Enough money was scraped together with which to buy the two cows that furnished the entire milk supply for the population.

Upon Woodic's return to Detroit Butzel called a special meeting of the Beth El Relief Society. Immediately a supply of clothing, groceries and *matzoh* was sent to Bad Axe, and arrangements made to procure fodder for the livestock. A fund of $1200 was raised which was entrusted to Woodic to use according to his own best judgment. Because of the intervening Passover holidays and a spell of stormy weather, Woodic could not return to Bad Axe until early in May. His first step was to provide each farmer with a cow. He also bought three plows, three drags, a yoke of oxen, other equipment, and oats, peas and potatoes for planting. He supplied each family with a small quantity of groceries. What is more, he remained in Bad Axe throughout that spring and summer, teaching these raw recruits how to sow and cultivate, and later how to harvest their little crop. Realizing the necessity for more cleared land, he kept the men constantly at work underbrushing and clearing. During these operations he installed a temporary sawmill of the crudest type in order to cut the burned logs—a considerable supply of which had accumulated—into rough boards to be used as siding for the almost open shacks, so as to make them more habitable for the winter. Not only was Woodic the agricultural advisor but he acted as

the communal leader and arbiter of the many petty disputes which naturally arose among the colonists. Living accommodations were barely sufficient for the colonists' own families and Woodic had to lodge in Bad Axe village. Despite his age he tramped the distance of four miles each morning and, after a strenuous day's work under a broiling summer sun, trudged back again to his modest room in the village. The noteworthy thing is that he received no compensation for his self-imposed task. To him it was truly a labor of love.

At the same time that Butzel appealed to his own relief society, he also entered upon a correspondence with the Baron de Hirsch Fund, which had then been in existence about a year, and which, Butzel felt, was the proper organization to deal with the problem. As a result, the Fund, upon motion of the late Jacob H. Schiff, appropriated the sum of $3000 to meet the colonists' urgent needs. This fund was turned over to Butzel as trustee.

By this time the first year had rolled by. Interest and taxes were due and the colonists had incurred some small debts for groceries and other living requirements. The work that had been done under Woodic's guidance was merely preparatory for the following season, but yielded no income. The largest creditor was the Hubbard Company which, besides selling the land, had lent its credit for the purchase of merchandise and had also made small cash advances. Early in September, 1892, Butzel took a trip to Bad Axe and personally supervised the distribution of the money made available by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. He paid $2300 to the Hubbard Company and used the rest to pay other debts and to supply pressing necessities. This money was considered a loan to the farmers and each of the 12 recipients gave a promissory note for the amount received—ranging from $125 to $275—payable in five years with interest at 5%, to be charged only after the first year. As security the borrowers assigned their contracts to Butzel as trustee. Before making

any payment to the Hubbard Company Butzel prevailed upon it to modify the terms of the contracts so as to make the first instalments fall due in 1896—thus obtaining a four year extension—and to change the maturity date of the annual interest payments from July 20 to October 1, the end of the harvesting season. But before the company made these concessions it insisted upon receiving an agreement under which Butzel bound himself to release all interest in the several contracts immediately upon a default in payment, in this way relieving the company from the necessity of foreclosure.

Butzel came back from Bad Axe much impressed with the calibre of the colonists. In his report to the Baron de Hirsch Fund upon the disbursement of its appropriation he wrote:

> These people, both men and women, ... through industry early and late, in all kinds of weather, seem to have accomplished all that could be expected in such a short time and thus given proof of their sincere intention and earnestness to become farmers in fact. Notwithstanding their present poverty, scanty food and poor habitation, which would discourage others, these families seem to make sacrifices of all personal comforts and stick to farming.

An exhibition of the colonists' products at Temple Beth El during the Succoth holidays of 1892 stands out in a truly pathetic light. This was the means conceived by Butzel and Woodic to interest the Detroit Jews in their neighboring farming brethren. Samples of the few crops raised in the colony were placed on display. Small as it was, this was the first exhibition of farm products raised by Jews to be held in the United States. A small parcel containing two potatoes was sent to the Baron de Hirsch Fund as a memento of the first crop raised in the colony.

Encouraged by the interest which their efforts were arousing and freed from their pressing debts, the colonists worked industriously, clearing land, cutting down saplings, pulling stumps, draining, ditching, preparing more land for plowing, and sowing winter wheat. During this time two more families from Saginaw joined the colony, Michael Jacobson and

William Weisberg. Behr Marks, the father-in-law of Moses Heidenrich, and Charles Danto had arrived somewhat earlier. The colony had by this time attracted such wide-spread attention, not only in Detroit but elsewhere, that Bad Axe became a veritable Mecca for Jewish farm enthusiasts. John Ryan of the Hubbard Company vividly recalls a certain morning on which the train from Saginaw brought thirty-three prospective settlers, some of whom came from distant points in neighboring states, and that his company had to provide six teams to convey them through the colony. Every-one of these thirty-three became so infused with the "back-to-the-soil" spirit that each paid a small deposit, the total of these deposits amounting to $125. This enthusiasm evidently waned for only one from nearby Saginaw returned to throw in his lot with the colonists.

During the entire winter of 1892-1893 Butzel kept in close touch with Bad Axe, advising and encouraging the farmers, all of whom remained on the land throughout the season. Late in December, 1892, he asked M. Razek, a Jewish resident of Bad Axe, to make a report on the situation of the colony. Razek reported that the colonists were working industriously preparing the land for a large crop that year. They planted over fifty acres of potatoes alone, in the hope that the income would yield them sufficient to clear much of their debt. But they were in desperate need of living necessities to tide them over until the harvest. Butzel sent them a supply of *kosher* meat and authorized Razek to buy potatoes and flour. That winter was one of the severest ever experienced in the section and Butzel sent a second appeal to the Baron de Hirsch Fund for relief. His plea was a touching one. "It is almost miraculous," he wrote, "with how little they get along." In February, 1893, the Baron de Hirsch Fund made a second loan of $1000 which Butzel entrusted to Woodic and which the latter in turn lent out to ten of the colonists in amounts ranging from $60 to $250. Like the previous year Woodic was the guiding

spirit in the colony. Under his direction the colonists sowed, cultivated, harvested, cleared land and put up buildings. Their livestock and farm equipment were put to constant use. Woodic's active participation was cut short early in the fall through the illness and death of his wife, but the impetus he had given carried the colony along for several years.

During the year 1893 the colony was augmented by three families from Saginaw, J. Levinson and Israel Levinson, brothers, and J. Shepaninski. Sometime later David Graff and Sam Elias also took up farms in the colony. In the meantime there had been some defections because the colony at no time numbered more than sixteen families.

The years 1893 and 1894 marked the height of the colony's agricultural activity. Unfortunately, the potato crops of both years, on which the colonists pinned their hopes, failed. The autumn of 1893 found them again unable to meet the interest on their land contracts. As before, Butzel came to the rescue. In 1894 the farmers fared better. They made enough for their own maintenance and for the first time were able to make partial payments on their annual interest.

An interesting episode, and one which throws Butzel's broad humanitarian spirit into bold relief, was his efforts to bring over the families of Kahn, Marks and Beckman from Russia. Foreign bureaucratic regulations made this a difficult task but Butzel was relentless. He corresponded with agencies here and abroad for upwards of a year before he finally succeeded in reuniting these families.

During this era of comparative farm activity a laudable communal spirit developed. Almost from the start religious services were conducted every Sabbath morning, and Saturday was a day of cessation from labor. At first worship was held in one of the little shacks, later a small synagogue was built. Part of it now forms the rear of a farm house occupied by a farmer named Drews. A photograph is in the writer's possession. A *schohet* came from Saginaw, and for a few months

during the summer and autumn of 1892 Rev. Charles Goodwin of Bay City, was spiritual leader, cantor and religious teacher, acting in these various capacities without pay. Praiseworthy was the ardent desire to give the children a thorough Jewish bringing up. Hard as it must have been to get together the little money required, a modest Talmud Torah building was erected.

The critical period began in the autumn of 1895. The succeeding years were years of continuous struggle to retain the lands. The colonists defaulted on their contracts and were in constant danger of eviction. At these crucial junctures Butzel stood as a bulwark between them and the Hubbard Company. His nobility of character reveals itself in his correspondence with the company pleading for leniency to these struggling colonists.

> You must have patience with these poor farmers [he begs], be they Jews or Christians. . . . . You would not be so cruel as to set families with small children out of doors. Do not do what the law allows you but be kind to your fellow man. [Again he pleads:] I cannot believe that you considered the consequences and fully comprehended your order for the removal of those tenants. Just think of the anguish, heartaches, sufferings and disappointments of women and children to be driven from that which they have toiled for, for four years, with earnestness praiseworthy to build up a home for future and good citizenship,—and just now when favorable indications seem to appear, would you insist to drive them from house and home just for the reason that each one of the family heads owes less than $100 for interest past due? I appeal to your own judgment and sense of justice, saying nothing of charity or humanity. Do grant them an extension that they may try this season once more. I hope and trust that you will not only grant this request but give them aid, comfort, and advice. This would give all parties peace of mind, satisfy the teaching of the Saviour and the God of Israel alike. The prayers of the oppressed have never been unanswered.

This plea evidently had no effect because the Hubbard people persisted in their demands upon the colonists. Besides being behind in their contract payments, the colonists owed the company about $1300 for merchandise for which they had

given joint notes. The company pressed for security covering the crops and movable property and the colonists turned to Butzel for counsel. With his characteristic sympathy, clarity of thought and a comprehensive grasp of the legal intricacies involved, Butzel advised them in the strongest terms not to tie up a single article of personal property. This spurred the company to action and an agent was sent with an officer to serve summonses on all the colonists. Thereupon, a committee composed of Kahn, one of the colonists, and Isaac Shulman, a storekeeper of Minden, a small village near Bad Axe, went to Detroit to report in person to Butzel. Butzel showed that he could fight for the colonists as well as plead for them. In a scathing letter he reminded the company that movable property is exempt by law and that in any event he, as trustee, had a prior claim by reason of the fact that the organizations for which we was acting had spent over $6000 on the colony, none of which they expected to get back. He pointed out that the real estate improved by the clearing of 165 acres of land, with many new buildings, was much more than ample to secure the company and, he continued:

> I protest against any such unlawful proceedings on your part or the part of your agent to take away any property of whatever nature which is exempt by the law of the state. . . . . I shall be compelled to hold you accountable and responsible for all damage thus inflicted.

Butzel's firm stand was effective. The land contracts were again redrawn extending the period of payment to October, 1906, with principal payments of $30 annually to be made in the interim. The new contracts ran to the individual purchasers but, as in 1892, an agreement was entered into under which, in the event of default, the land was to be surrendered without legal process. These negotiations were conducted by Shulman who from this time on took an active interest in the affairs of the colony, particularly during the protracted illness with which Butzel was seized at this stage.

For a short time things ran smoothly. The 1897 crop was again a failure and ruin was once more staring the colonists

in the face. A petition was dispatched to the Baron de Hirsch Fund in which the colonists suggested that it might be advisable for the fund to buy the land outright from the Hubbard Company. An agent from the fund was thereupon sent to make a special investigation. Some of the passages of his report are worth quoting as proof of the stamina of these settlers.

> Some of them had to sleep on the bare ground, in weather and storm, with the animals of the field as their companions but they braved it all with the ultimate expectation of possessing what they then began to toil for. It should not be difficult to convince you how almost insurmountable were the obstacles they had to contend with and it is surprising that they did not lose heart. That they were industrious beyond measure none can gainsay as their own shoulders served as animals which they had not the means to purchase, and their Christian neighbors testify to their pluck, energy and determination.

The trustees of the fund considered the matter thoroughly but their conviction was inescapable that further nursing would only prolong the agony. Correspondence, however, ensued with the object to effect an amelioration of the terms of the 1896 contract "that will insure the land to the colonists in the future" but these efforts were without result. All that was left to be done was to stave off the inevitable as long as possible. As a measure of protection to the colonists quit-claim deeds were taken in the name of Henry Rice, a trustee of the fund, conveying the purchasers' right under their contracts.

From this time on things moved rapidly. Payments on purchase contracts were due, taxes and drain assessments had piled up, and the Hubbard Company began ouster proceedings. Though just out of a sick bed, Butzel once more came to the rescue. His urgent appeal to the Baron de Hirsch Fund resulted in the sum of $1000 being placed in his hands to avert imminent eviction. On Monday, January 17, 1898, Butzel received a telegram from Hubbard stating that the service

of eviction-writs could not be delayed beyond Wednesday. Wednesday afternoon found Butzel in Bad Axe to stay the threatened misfortune. There was then due a total of $1,552.17. Having only $1000 at his disposal, part of which he desired to reserve for other uses, Butzel was put on his mettle to make an adjustment with the company. With his keen business resourcefulness he succeeded in prevailing upon the company to accept $825 in full settlement. He asked permission of the Baron de Hirsch Fund to use part of the balance for medical attention for the young daughter of David Graff and for the wife of Hyman Lewenberg, both of whom were in a hospital at Detroit, the latter dying of cancer. He also paid the long overdue bill of the local physician, which amounted to $36 for six months. This left $75 which he used the following May for advances in amounts ranging from $5 to $10 towards the purchase of seed.

After Butzel had made this last adjustment with the Hubbards he thought that the colonists would be unmolested at least until October, 1899, since the interest and taxes had been paid up to October 1, 1898, but because some of the colonists could not pay the small principal instalments, the Hubbards early in 1899 again demanded personal security on pain of ejectment. Butzel once more took up the cudgels for the colonists and warded off the disaster.

The disintegration of the colony began in the fall of 1899 when three colonists abandoned their farms. In 1900 only eight families remained in the colony and these rapidly disappeared. Except three parcels, all the land finally reverted to the Hubbard Company and was later sold to German immigrants. Lewenberg appealed to the Baron de Hirsch Fund for a release of the quitclaim deed so that he could save a little to compensate him for his labor in bringing his farm "from a wilderness to a home." Butzel seconded his plea and the quitclaim was released. Lewenberg soon after sold the farm and realized a few hundred dollars. A year later Heidenrich

made a similar appeal to the fund and it was also granted. Heidenrich was thereby enabled to sell his farm and to carry away from the colony the munificent sum of $35 for his years of toil. Heidenrich moved to the village of Bad Axe where he still resided in 1922.

The departure of Lewenberg and Heidenrich marked the end of the heroic project to establish a new Palestine amid Michigan's primeval forests. The odds were too great. The handicap against which this handful of fervent pioneers had to contend eventually proved insurmountable. A small band of peddlers, utterly devoid of agricultural experience, with an insignificant initial capital, settling on lands that were swampy, cut over, burned out and infertile, under contracts that were millstones about their necks, with a serious financial panic breaking out before they had even had a chance to orient themselves, most of all, with the spectre of the sheriff constantly before their eyes, the colony was fore-doomed to failure. Success was impossible.

The gloom of the Bad Axe tragedy is relieved by the brotherly devotion, the lofty humanitarianism, the all-embracing compassion of Martin Butzel. His spirit stands out like a golden ray of sunshine illuminating the darkness of a storm-swept landscape. Save for his untiring energy and indefatigable effort, the history of Bad Axe, brief as it is, would have been much briefer. But this dramatic story of an envisaged Palestine by no means proves the unfitness of the Jew for farming. Witness the growth of the American Jewish farm movement within the short span of two decades. Behold the state of Michigan, the scene of this adventure, now the home of a multitude of flourishing Jewish farmers, each "living under his own vine and fig tree with none to make him afraid."[1]

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Edward A. Goodwin, of the staff of the Jewish Agricultural Society, for his valued help in collecting and arranging the data for this paper.

THE BOARD OF DELEGATES OF AMERICAN ISRAELITES, 1859–1878.

INCLUDING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MYER S. ISAACS WITH GENERAL BENJAMIN F. BUTLER AS TO THE STATUS OF THE JEWS AT THE TIME OF OUR CIVIL WAR.

Contributed by MAX J. KOHLER.

Strangely enough, no article dealing with the history of this organization, which rendered valuable services in protecting the civil and political rights of the Jews, at home and abroad, for nearly 20 years, has heretofore appeared in our *Publications,* nor is there any such title in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," nor is it treated in the histories of American Jewry prepared by Isaac Markens and Peter Wiernik. Incidentally, of course, our *Publications* have referred to it. Myer S. Isaacs, who was its leading spirit throughout, being its secretary from the start until he became president in 1876, referred to some of its home activities in his interesting paper in No. 12 of our *Publications,* "A Jewish Army Chaplain," in discussing its efforts to secure the appointment of Jewish chaplains during the Civil War, and the necessary amendment of Federal laws to authorize this.[1] Other home activities have been incidentally referred to[2] in passages concerning its efforts, in conjunction with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, to gather American Jewish statistics between 1876 and 1878, which the Union published in compiled form in 1880, after the Board of Delegates was merged in it in 1878; these yielded the commonly accepted estimate

[1] Compare Markens, "Lincoln and the Jews," *Publications,* No. 17, pp. 114-115.

[2] *Ibid.,* No. 6, pp. 143-5; No. 12, p. 157.

of a quarter of a million Jews in the United States in 1878, based on returns from 278 congregations, reporting a membership of 12,546. Its services in connection with the rescission of Grant's notorious Order No. 11, should also have been referred to in the course of Joseph Lebowich's paper on that subject in No. 17 of our *Publications,* and were mentioned in Hon. Simon Wolf's recently published "Presidents I Have Known,"[3] he having been vice-president and a Washington representative of the organization for many years. We have also noted its agitation to secure removal of Jewish disabilities in North Carolina in 1866,[4] and its participation in Lincoln memorial exercises.[5]

Its chief services to the Jews abroad were incidentally disclosed in S. M. Stroock's paper in No. 11, "Switzerland and American Jews," Dr. Cyrus Adler's work, "Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States," constituting our No. 15, and in Mr. Wolf and my "Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States," No. 24. Unfamiliarity with some of these original, unimpeachable, documents induced the late Ludwig Geiger to doubt the accuracy of some of my statements in the last-named work, in what was otherwise an exceptionally appreciative review from a German source, published in the *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*[6] Yet, while these concededly constituted its chief activities, at home and abroad, its eminent services in these movements were but inadequately presented, in the absence of a study of its annual reports and correspondence. Its efforts in numerous other fields of scarcely minor impor-

[3] (1918), pp. 11-12, 64-71.

[4] *Publications,* No. 16, p. 67. The files of the Board of Delegates refer to an apparently earlier appeal on the subject of that year than we have heretofore described and it is so forcible and convincing that I reprint it in full as follows: in Appendix I.

[5] *Ibid.,* No. 17, pp. 144, 149.

[6] Vol. lxii, p. 57, *et seq.* (1918).

tance have been entirely ignored by us, so that obviously consecutive and continuous treatment of its activities is desirable. The children of the late Myer S. Isaacs have very generously adopted my suggestion that the files of the Board of Delegates be presented to our Society, and we have accordingly in our possession its first minute-book, covering the period from 1859 to January 25, 1870, two large boxes containing its correspondence, including original letters from Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolphe Crémieux, Benjamin F. Peixotto, Sir Francis Goldsmid, S. H. Goldschmidt, Prof. Moritz Lazarus, Baron von Wertheimer, Benjamin F. Butler, John Hay, and many others, and we either own[7] or have access to printed annual reports, covering the entire period from 1859 to 1878 with the exception of the years 1863 and 1864. In these years none was issued on account of the pendency of the Civil War. The reports our own Society lacks are found in the libraries of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. The missing, separately-printed reports of 1867, 1868 and 1870 seem to have been printed, substantially in full, in *The Occident*[8] and *The Jewish Messenger*[9] of those years. Judge Isaacs himself prepared a valuable 31-page Final Report in 1879 including "A Review of its Proceeding since its Organization." It has become extremely rare and is reprinted as Appendix II.

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites was organized in 1859, almost simultaneously with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* and the immediate occasion for the creation of both societies was the abduction by Papal authorities of Edgar

[7] Through a further gift of the Isaacs family the Society owns copies of all the reports through 1874; in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America are copies of the reports for 1876, 1877 and 1878.

[8] Vol. xxv, pp. 247-54; vol. xxvi, pp. 145-56.

[9] May 6 and 27, 1870.

Mortara which aroused the Jews all over the world to concerted, though futile, action. The detailed accounts of the Mortara Affair to be found in Lucien Wolf's valuable biography of Moses Montefiore, and in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and the works there cited, make it unnecessary to refer more fully herein to this incident, though new MS. material regarding some of its details is now in our possession. The Board of Delegates of American Israelites was frankly patterned after the Board of Deputies of British Jews,[10] which had been organized as far back as 1760. In connection with all foreign affairs, it coöperated closely with that organization, with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*[11] and with the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Vienna *Allianz*.[12]

Though the call for the organization meeting of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, held in New York City, November 27, 1859, was signed only by representatives of New York City congregations, a number of representatives of congregations of other cities, including Richmond, Va., Charleston, S. C., Philadelphia, Pa., Providence, R. I., Washington, D. C., Boston, Mass., New Haven, Ct., New Orleans, La., Newark, N. J., Hartford, Ct., Schenectady, N. Y., and Wilkesbarré, Pa., attended. Rev. Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia was active in the movement from the start, and served as vice-president until his death in 1868, but it is probable that his persistent efforts, regularly overruled, to cause the organization to assume jurisdiction over controverted doctrinal matters, induced several Reform congrega-

[10] C. H. L. Emanuel, "A Century and a Half of Jewish History" (1910); Loewe, "Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore" (1890).

[11] N. Leven's valuable history of the *Alliance, Cinquante ans d'Histoire,* 1911 and 1920, two volumes, in French.

[12] The Jews of America had previously constituted somewhat similar, though temporary, local organizations in connection with the Damascus Blood Accusations of 1840, as is indicated by the able paper on that affair in No. 10 of our *Publications* by the late Joseph Jacobs.

tions, notably the Har Sinai Congregation of Baltimore, Md., of which Dr. David Einhorn was rabbi, and Temple Emanu-El of New York to decline to join and to issue manifestoes in opposition to the organization.[13]

Strangely enough it was the failure of the organization to comply with the demands of Isaac M. Wise, submitted to it in 1865 and 1870, to establish a well-equipped Jewish theological seminary, despite the probabilities that this would lead to doctrinal dissensions, which ultimately led to Dr. Wise's founding of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The Board of Delegates, was amalgamated with the younger body in 1878. Simon Wolf was the chairman during almost the whole period from 1878 to 1923, and I also have latterly been privileged to be active in it.[14] Particularly valuable is the correspondence between Judge Isaacs and Benjamin F. Butler in 1864, which I am reprinting as Appendix III, "A Birdseye View of Jewish Civic Activity and Patriotism all Over the World during the Civil War." The annotations are my own, and nearly all the letters appear in the original files of the Board of Delegates. In Appendix IV a collation of statistical information gathered by the board in 1860 is to be found, based on original returns in our possession. Upon the basis thereof, the secretary estimated that there were then 160 Jewish Congregations in the United States, twenty in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and twenty in Louisiana and Mississippi. A description of early Russian and Roumanian immigration to the United States and of efforts in 1869 to aid

[13] Max B. May, "Isaac Mayer Wise," p. 271; *The Jewish Messenger,* May 27, 1870; C. A. Rubenstein, "History of Har Sinai Congregation"; *Sinai,* 1859, vol. v, pp. 2-10, 47-54, 88-95; Myer Stern, "Temple Emanu-El," p. 54.

[14] For a summary of the history of this latter body see my paper in *The American Hebrew,* January 19, 1923, reprinted in the proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for 1923, "49th Annual Report," pp. 9187-94.

these Jewish immigrants is described in the reports for 1870 (pp. 21, 22) and 1873.[15]

[15] These early streams of Russian and Roumanian immigration to the United States are commonly overlooked, but did not wholly escape the attention of Dr. Samuel Joseph in his "Jewish Immigration to the United States," and Kohler and Wolf in "Jewish Disabilities," p. 26 *et seq.*

APPENDIX I.[1]

To the friends of Religious Liberty in the State of North Carolina:

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites desire to call your attention to a provision of the new State Constitution which will be submitted to you for ratification on the 1st Thursday of August ensuing.

The section in question reads thus:

> No person who shall deny the being of Almighty God, or the divine authority of both the Old and New Testaments, or who shall hold religious opinions incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in any civil department of the State.

Adopt this and North Carolina will be and continue, as she is now, the only State in the Union that denies religious liberty to her citizens.

It disqualifies not alone the entire Jewish population, but affects equally large classes of citizens who are not associated with some evangelical denomination.

It is opposed to the fundamental principle of our national government, it is obnoxious to those who still regard with reverence the memory of an ancestry driven by religious persecution from their homes in the Old World, to seek and find an asylum in America. Shall it illustrate that the citizens of North Carolina are recreant to their pledge, solemnly enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Independence, that liberty is an inalienable right of man?

Without for a moment expressing any opinion upon other sections of the proposed Constitution, we most earnestly desire your serious attention to the above provision. If enacted, the anomaly will be presented of citizens eligible to the highest dignities under the United States, who may not aspire to an insignificant civil office under the State Constitution. And this disqualification arising from the application of a religious test! If you have the option of rejecting a part of the Constitution, in the name of liberty, justice, and truth, reject, by an overwhelming vote, this most shameful provision. If you cannot pass upon a portion of the Constitution, better reject it in toto than sully your State laws with a provision so diametrically hostile

[1] The proposed constitutional amendment was defeated.

to the spirit of the age and civilization, so unjust to present and future residents of your State, so repugnant to the principles of American government, so discreditable to North Carolina.

Do not pass unheeded this appeal to your judgment and conscience. Do not enact a Constitution which denies the equality of citizens, whatever their religious profession. How a man believes or worships is a matter between himself and his Creator—let not North Carolina be the only State in the Union which proscribes good citizens because they worship God in accordance with their conscientious convictions.

For the Executive Committee:

Myer S. Isaacs, *Secretary.*

New York, *July 23, 5626—1866.*

APPENDIX II.

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites. Final Report:[1] Including a Review of its Proceedings Since Its Organization.[2]

FINAL REPORT.

Organized in November, 5620—1859, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites will, with this final report, close the labors of nineteen years.

It is becoming, in taking a retrospect of this period, to state briefly and clearly the reason of the Board's existence, and to illustrate the spirit in which its operations have been conducted. Estimated upon the basis of work attempted, with the high standard set by the founders, does the record of work accomplished entitle the Board to recognition as a useful and happy agency for the advancement of the welfare of Israel?

An intimate acquaintance with the proceedings of the preliminary meetings that led to the establishment of the Board justifies the claim that its founders entertained a generous and exalted view of the good to be sought and attained by means of such an organization. They believed that on the model of the Board of Deputies of British Jews—then the only institution assuming the functions of a quasi-political body concerned with the redress of grievances under which Hebrews suffered—an American association could be formed which would not alone coöperate in directing government aid to the rescue of their oppressed brethren from danger and persecution, but which,

[1] This Report has been prepared for the purpose of preserving, in an accessible shape, the principal facts in the history of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. The functions of this body having been assumed by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, pursuant to an understanding after conferences in 1877 and 1878, the congregations represented in the Board have been duly notified, and the Executive Committee have adjourned *sine die*.

M. S. Isaacs.

New York, *December, 5639—1878.*

[2] New York: Davis' Printing Office, 92 Walker Street. 5639—1879.

through the medium of education, would elevate the social condition of Israelites in countries where the laws discriminated against them.

The actual impulse for the formation of the Board of Delegates was given indeed by the enthusiastic meetings of Israelites throughout the world in denunciation of the abduction by the papal authorities of Edgar Mortara.

The purpose of the Board of Delegates, however, extended beyond the area of material assistance to the distressed. The cherished hope and aim of the founders was to bring about the union of American Israelites for their common welfare—to utilize for educational progress the scattered and independent agencies maintained in various sections of the country—to accustom the congregations to harmonious and united action. Some of the most earnest officers of the Board at its foundation proposed, indeed, the assumption of semi-ecclesiastical functions, but the Constitution, as adopted in November, 1859, disclaimed any such powers, beyond the suggestion of arbitration in congregations' differences, and this was also excluded from the plan of union at the session for 1865.

The objects of the Board, as set forth in the laws, were:

1. The collection and arrangement of statistical information respecting the Israelites of America.
2. The promotion of education.
3. The adoption of measures for the redress of grievances under which Israelites at home and abroad might suffer for religion's sake.
4. The maintenance of friendly relations with similar Hebrew organizations throughout the world.
5. The establishment of a thorough union among all the Israelites of the United States.

The "Alliance."

In the spring of 1860, there was established at Paris the Central Committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* whose aim was stated to be

> to work actively everywhere in behalf of the emancipation and the moral progress of Israelites, to lend efficacious aid to all who suffer from the fact of being Israelites, and to encourage and assist publications likely to contribute to these results.

The founders of this society were Messrs. Astruc, now Chief Rabbi of Belgium, Isidor Cahen, Professor at the Rabbinical Seminary, Jules Carvalho, the first President; N. Leven, the Secretary, Charles Netter and Prof. Manuel.

The broad and generous scheme of the *Alliance* appealed to the sympathies of the President of this Board, Mr. Henry I. Hart, one of the true leaders of Judaism—at once enthusiastic and statesmanlike—and it was sought to interest American Israelites as members. It was apparent, however, that the time had not yet arrived for the naturalization on these shores of the ideas and sentiments of the thoughtful and spirited men who resolved to sacrifice their time and to devote their best endeavors that thousands of unknown brethren in distant lands might taste the sweets of liberty and prove their manhood.

Never in the history of mankind has so noble and advanced a step been taken by our race. Rarely, indeed, has a general movement for the emancipation of the oppressed been fostered in this simple, hearty fashion of a fraternity knowing no limit of clime or nationality. Missionary effort is directed in the interest of sects for the conversion of the heathen—from a faith which seems to be adapted to their feeble understanding, to a creed beyond their grasp. Crusades have been instituted to wrest sacred places from the dominion of marauders or military chieftains, as civilized, after their manner, as the boasted chivalry that murdered Jews in avarice and cold blood. The Israelites of this century, having studied history, have, with the keenness of vision which characterizes the race, applied the lessons of experience, and are striving to raise their brethren to equality with other foremost citizens surrounding them.

Appreciating that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," the *Alliance* asks diplomats, governments and peoples to "let the oppressed Hebrews go free," and Pharaoh of Roumania is as difficult to move as his Egyptian ancestor; but if, in ancient days, it demanded the crossing of a Red Sea that the oppressor's hosts should perish, and that the enslaved should be enfranchised, God has now given the victory to the patient, reverential brotherhood, headed by the philanthropists of England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, America cordially uniting; and the reason of the existence of the *Alliance,* of our Board of Delegates, is apparent in the unanimous declaration of the Congress of Berlin, that the concession of civil and religious liberty to all their inhabitants shall be the condition upon which Servia, Roumania and Bulgaria may acquire national life.

Such is the cause, such the effect, of a combination of thoughtful men resolved to have justice done to the oppressed. And it will be the verdict of impartial history that American Israelites have con-

tributed, according to their means and opportunities, to the satisfactory result.

It was, then, a wise foresight which dictated the coöperation of this Board with the *Alliance* in measures instituted at Paris by the Central Committee, whereof Carvalho, Munk, the distinguished scholar, and Crémieux, the honored and revered statesman and philanthropist, were the successive chiefs.

But the Board of Delegates did not remain the mere passive auxiliary in this work. On several occasions, we took the initiative; and especially in the progress of events connected with the Danubian Principalities, our efforts were of signal service in securing the appointment of a United States Consul at Bucharest. Mr. Peixotto's presence at his post was at once a source of protection for the unhappy Israelites, and the means of securing the united action of foreign governments in condemnation of repeated outrages.

The educational work of the *Alliance* comprehends primary and advanced schools in the Turkish provinces, in Asia Minor, and North Africa, and a training school for teachers destined to take charge of the Oriental institutions. And besides these the agricultural school at Jaffa has proved an important aid in the improvement of the condition of the Israelites of Palestine.

The contributions of the Board in aid of the agricultural school at Jaffa founded by the *Alliance* have exceeded $3,000.

The coöperation of the Board has been requested by the *Alliance,* and cordially granted, in connection with the grave questions involved in the emancipation of the Russian and the Roumanian Jews—in the raising of funds for the emigrants from the Russian Provinces and the Danubian Principalities.

The relations of the Board with the other Jewish organizations of Europe have been continuously friendly. Correspondence has been maintained with the Board of Deputies of British Jews, whereof Sir Moses Montefiore was for a generation President, being succeeded by Mr. J. M. Montefiore, the Anglo-Jewish Association founded in connection with the *Alliance,* and with Prof. Waley and afterwards Baron de Worms as President—the *Allianz* of Vienna, of which Baron von Wertheimer is President.

A cursory glance at the work of the Board in the domain of these organizations illustrates at least the zeal and activity of the American society; for convenience of reference, the incidents as to each country are grouped together.

Morocco.

The first public act of the Executive Committee was (in January, 1860) to interest American Israelites in the condition of the refugees from the Empire of Morocco, driven from their homes because of their religion. The contribution for the United States reached nearly $20,000, of which the great bulk was transmitted through the Treasurer of the Board. American Israelites subscribed about a third of the aggregate contributed to the relief of the exiles; and the committee naturally observed that

> they reflected with just pride on the great influence which our community, when united, is capable of exercising on the interests of Israel.

In November, 1864, the attention of the Board was directed to the outrages committed on the Hebrews of Morocco, in the judicial murder of several at Tangier, the imprisonment at Saffi of many unjustly accused of criminal offences, and the general persecution threatened. Sir Moses Montefiore undertook a long and dangerous journey to the capital of the Empire, and secured an imperial rescript which guaranteed full and perfect equality to all the subjects of the Sultan.

The United States Consul at Tangier (Mr. McMath) cordially and cheerfully coöperated in furthering the humane mission of Sir Moses Montefiore, in pursuance of instructions from the Secretary of State, the lamented William H. Seward, who very promptly acceded to the request of the Board of Delegates, that our Government interest itself for humanity's sake in the fate of our unhappy brethren. The precedent thus made has been followed by the State Department on every occasion that was deemed of sufficient importance to present an application of the like character. The influence of the United States has been right worthily exercised in behalf of the oppressed; and perfect confidence in the representations of the Board having been established in 1861, when its officers for the first time called upon our Government for the redress of a wrong committed against the Hebrews, there has been at no time a suspension of this good will and recognition.

After the lapse of thirteen years, the Jewish community of Morocco has again been subjected to misfortune and persecution. A dreadful famine has occasioned universal distress throughout the Empire, and efforts have been made by the benevolent to mitigate the suffering. A collection is progressing to which American Israelites (although having a very pressing call at home) are responding. The last official act of the Board of Delegates, in connection with the performance

of duty towards Hebrews abroad, suffering because of their religion, was correspondence with the State Department, thanking the present Secretary, Hon. William M. Evarts, for the promptitude with which Col. Mathews, the Consul at Tangier, had acted upon instructions to interpose the moral influence of our Government in behalf of Israelites in Morocco unjustly deprived of liberty. The representations of the Board, made in June, 1878, were fruitful in results, as the Consul, whose kindness of heart has been demonstrated during the famine, secured prompt inquiry into instances of judicial wrong against Israelites, and earned the lasting gratitude of our brethren.

Tunis.

In the year 1868, the Board took cognizance of the distress among the Israelites of Tunis. The contributions made on this occasion were not very large, and happily the suffering was not of long continuance.

China.

In 1869, the Board contributed $200 to the fund for despatching a Jewish missionary to China, Mr. Halevy, who had just returned from a journey to Abyssinia, having been selected for the work. While the *Alliance* and the Board of Delegates were in unison on this subject other organizations failed to coöperate, and the project was abandoned.

Persia.

In the year 1872, a collection was made by the Committee in aid of the Jews of Persia, whose condition, owing to drought and famine, was lamentable in the extreme. The fund raised in America amounted to $3,557.42, and was distributed through the agency of the British Consular officers acting under advice of Sir Moses Montefiore. The cause of the peculiar misery affecting the Jews of Persia was sought and found in their poverty and lethargy arising from generations of crushing persecution. With the awakening of their brethren to the source of their misery, came the beginning of legislation promising future enlargement, and the visit of the Shah to Europe, in 1873, was instrumental in directing his attention to the duty of extending religious liberty to all his subjects.

Italy.

In 1861, the Board was represented in an international effort to secure the release of Edgar Mortara, the victim of papal intolerance

in 1858. The *Alliance* of France, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the Evangelical Alliance of England, participated. The project was abandoned, serious political considerations intervening to prevent its accomplishment.

In 1870, there was a terrible inundation at Rome, which occasioned great distress among the poor Israelites of the Ghetto. Two Hebrew citizens of New York being in Rome at the time, requested the Board to issue an appeal. This resulted in the collection of over $1,000, which was remitted to the President of the local Jewish Committee.

In 1871, the liberation of Rome from the dominion of the Pope appeared a fitting occasion for American Israelites to tender their Italian brethren their felicitations on the establishment of civil and religious liberty. An appropriate address was sent and was warmly appreciated.

Spain.

In 1869, during the Government of General Prim, the edict of 1492, expelling all Israelites from Spain, was revoked. The Board united in a movement to assist in the erection of a synagogue at Madrid, to commemorate the restoration of religious liberty in a land so dear to Israel for its recollections of the Golden Age.

Recognizing the changes that, with the adoption of a new Constitution, seemed to abridge the rights thus guaranteed by the government of 1869, the Executive Committee, acting in the spirit of their English colleagues, concluded to present an address to King Alfonso of Spain, praying for the complete emancipation of his Jewish subjects. Our Minister at Madrid, Hon. Caleb Cushing (1877), expressed his cordial sympathy with the object the Board had in view, while he was not authorized to deliver the Memorial. It was unofficially received, however, by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the favorable action of the Spanish Government is awaited. Gen. Cushing's letter was a valuable contribution to the history of the Jews of Spain, demonstrating from the records the distinguished services rendered by Hebrew scholars to their native land at the very epoch of their condemnation to persecution and exile.

Switzerland.

During the years 1860-1866, the "Swiss Treaty" constituted a topic demanding consideration at the hands of our Government. An invitation had been addressed to the Board of Delegates by the *Consistoire Central* of France, to inform them of the steps taken to secure to American citizens of the Jewish faith the same rights under

the pending treaty with Switzerland as were conceded to Christians. From the first, the State Department and the United States Ministers at Berne manifested a commendable desire to further the views of American Israelites.

The agitation of this question had begun in 1853; and when it closed in 1866, the offending Cantons had yielded their apparently implacable prejudices against Jewish residents. Unquestionably the vigorous action of the distinguished Minister Resident at Berne, Hon. Theodore S. Fay, whose memorable despatch to the High Federal Council of Switzerland was a superb defence of the Jewish people against cantonal intolerance, contributed essentially to the reversal of the obnoxious declarations; and Mr. Fogg, who succeeded him, continued the same enlightened policy. It is needless to add that Secretaries Cass and Seward warmly seconded their efforts. This masterly attack upon intolerance was maintained with spirit by the diplomatic agents of France, Great Britain, and Holland, who made common cause, while M. Godefroi, the patriotic Hebrew—Minister of Justice in the Kingdom of the Netherlands—succeeded in opposing the ratification of a treaty between Holland and Switzerland which denied to Israelites equal privileges with other sojourners.

In 1866, the Board announced that

> the unequal legislation which placed our coreligionists in Switzerland at a great disadvantage, and subjected them to serious inconveniences, has succumbed at length to the influence of more enlightened ideas of government.

Bohemia.

In 1865, there was an expression of sympathy for the Hebrews of Bohemia, the excesses committed against them requiring military interference for their protection. This was made by the Emperor of Austria a pretext for the despatch of an army to Bohemia, a fact dwelt upon in the preliminary notes interchanged between the Austrian and Prussian Governments.

Russia.

The condition of the Hebrews in Russia has been the occasion of correspondence with our Government, and by our Government, and with the Israelite organizations of Europe, extending over several years. On the Western and Southern frontiers of Russia, the Hebrew population has suffered most seriously from popular prejudice as well as from unjust laws, while throughout the empire there is a discrimination against Jewish subjects, which the authorities are dis-

posed to deny when the topic of official inquiry, thus silencing the friendly attempts of other Governments to interpose in behalf of the oppressed.

In 1867, there was a slight uprising in the Polish provinces, and the Executive Committee ascertained that it had been quelled, rendering action unnecessary.

In 1868, and the following year, the sufferings in the West Russian districts (as elsewhere detailed in this Report), were mainly by reason of the famine.

In 1869, a large number of Hebrew families were driven from their homes in Russia, under the operation of an old law which prohibited their residence within a certain distance of the frontier.

The extent of the persecution was found to involve two thousand families dwelling in Bessarabia. The Committee, immediately on receipt of the information, addressed the State Department at Washington urging it, as a duty of our Government, to exert its moral influence with the Czar, and check the threatened exile of the unhappy Hebrews. The President of the United States, at an interview with Hon. Simon Wolf, a member of the Executive Committee, and others, promised to enlist the active aid of our Minister at St. Petersburg in submitting to the Russian Government the injustice of unequal legislation against the Israelites. Our Minister (Mr. Curtin) instituted an inquiry which seemed to demonstrate that the condition of the Hebrews generally was improving, and

> that the special legislation occasioning hardship was directed against the residents of a frontier district which it had been found impossible to govern by the ordinary agencies.

Mr. Curtin's despatch was based on the report of the Consul at Revel, and was published simultaneously with intelligence of a *ukase* which retained Hebrews in the military service eight years beyond the limit fixed for others, and permiting exemption from this burden on the sufferers embracing Christianity!

Our Committee urged that no agency could be of such importance at this crisis as the friendly counsels of America—but although the President was disposed to represent to the Emperor of Russia (as solicited by us)

> the satisfaction it would afford the Government and people of the United States to hear that the oppressive laws directed against the Jews of the Empire had been repealed.

the American Minister at St. Petersburg deprecated further action.

In 1873, the Imperial Government directed an investigation into the state of the Jews of Russia and other countries, with a view of

suspending the laws discriminating against the Hebrew population. Sir Moses Montefiore's visit to St. Petersburg was thus of immediate benefit. The *Alliance* undertook to furnish the information required as to the Israelites of foreign countries, and a concise statement relative to the United States was prepared by this Board for this occasion.

The Danubian Principalities.

Since the year 1866, the condition of the Israelites in the Danubian Principalities has largely occupied the attention of the Board, and the record of correspondence maintained and work done would be too extensive for transcription. That the action of the Board, sustained by American Israelites and cordially recognized by our European brethren, has been prompt, intelligent, and adequate to the emergency, others have acknowledged in terms that render it needless for one connected with the organization to bear testimony to the energy, industry and faithfulness manifested in this regard.

The wrongs under which the Hebrews of Roumania labored were first brought to the notice of the *Alliance* and this Board by Rev. Maurice Fluegel, long a resident of Bucharest (now Rabbi at Erie, Pa.), and whose generous advocacy of the cause doubtless inspired M. Crémieux to adopt it.

In 1867, Sir Francis Goldsmid introduced in Parliament a resolution of inquiry into the state of the Servian Jews, pursuant to which Lord Stanley despatched instructions to H. B. M. Ambassador at Constantinople, and interested other powers so that their representatives united in a remonstrance. A Committee of this Board waited on the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State, and presented a memorial that our Minister at Constantinople be directed to make inquiries, and to represent to the Servian Government that

the cruel and inhuman laws and practices directed against the Jews of that Principality are deplored by the United States.

Thus began the cordial interest of the United States in the fate of the hitherto friendless Jews of Servia and Roumania, and in the ten years' battle for freedom waged upon the field of diplomacy and public opinion, American thought and sympathy, American courage, were valiantly on the side of our brethren.

From the first, the animus of the persecution, which raged at times with terrible violence, and which ended only when the Congress at Berlin decreed religious liberty as a condition of Servian and Roumanian independence, has been apparent. Fanaticism assisted avarice in a popular and legal crusade against the industrious and temperate

Jews dwelling amid indolent, ignorant, bigoted and intemperate peasants. Prince Charles ostensibly opposed the infractions of law and justice, but his chosen ministers enjoyed the distinction of leading the persecutors. Trade regulations were adopted in 1867, and in subsequent years, designed to deprive the Jews of the means of living in the Roumanian towns and villages. The acquisition of land was forbidden to Jewish residents. Entrance into professional life was rendered very difficult, almost impossible.

In October, 1868, the populace rose against the Jews at Galatz, and the intervention of the foreign consuls was indispensable to save them from the furious mob. Concessions were made by the Roumanian Government in the removal of some flagrantly guilty officials, and the nullification of municipal decrees interdicting to Israelites traffic in certain articles. In 1869, there were scenes of violence at Bucharest, and many families were expelled from Bacau, Galatz and Vaslui. The English, French, Austrian and Italian Governments remonstrated against these outrages. When the question came up in the Roumanian Legislative Assembly, deputies appeared to glory in the wrongs done, and the sentiment was expressed and vehemently applauded, that the way to settle the matter was to "drown the Jews in the Danube."

In April, 1870, the Board of Delegates suggested to the U. S. Department of State that,

> were there at Bucharest a capable Consul, imbued with American sympathies and willing to coöperate with the European Consuls in measures for the relief of the unhappy Israelites, the result would be highly beneficial,

and respectfully urged Secretary Fish to

> appoint a thoroughly qualified gentleman, of true American principles, who will not hesitate to use his moral influence in the sacred interests of humanity.

This request was ably and vigorously seconded by Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington.

In June, 1870, reports were cabled of a massacre of Jews in Roumania. The Board took measures at once to ascertain the truth of the despatch, and in what form our Government could best intervene in behalf of our brethren. A reply received from the Board of Deputies of British Jews announced that the riot at Botischany had been quelled, and that, happily, the account of the massacre had been exaggerated.

Pending the reception of details, the first news stirred the hearts of the American people. Mr. Wolf personally presented to the Presi-

dent and Congress the statements received, and secured from General Grant a cable despatch to our Minister at Constantinople, calling for immediate action, and from the Senate and House of Representatives resolutions of sympathy and good will. In every city of the Union, there were warm expressions on the part of the people and the press, evincing that the Israelites of the United States had the unqualified support of their fellow citizens in their impulse and desire to aid their coreligionists. To the credit and glory of America, the action of our Government and people, confirmed by the appointment of an American Israelite as Consul at Bucharest, contributed more than any other influence to the rescue of 300,000 Hebrews from imminent persecution.

In the summer of 1870, Hon. Benjamin F. Peixotto was designated United States Consul at Bucharest. The emoluments of the position being nominal, subscriptions were made in various cities of the Union to a fund which would enable the Consul properly to maintain the dignity of a position intended to represent the American people in their attitude as friends and defenders of the oppressed. It was felt that Mr. Peixotto would appreciate the delicate character of his functions. His powers being merely those of a Consul, his intervention in behalf of the persecuted would necessarily be of an advisory character, and in coöperation with the representatives of other governments.

In January, 1872, the uprising against the Jews of Roumania culminated in the fearful excesses at Ismail, Cahul, Vilcow, Galatz, and other towns. At Ismail, the pretext was an act of sacrilege alleged to have been committed by an Israelite in robbing the Cathedral. For three days the riot lasted, one thousand Jews took refuge in the barracks, many houses were pillaged, and men, women, and children robbed, beaten, and murdered. This experience was repeated at Cahul and elsewhere. So extensive were the riots, that the authorities were actually compelled to arrest two hundred persons for complicity. Every rioter was promptly acquitted, however, while five innocent and worthy Israelites were adjudged guilty of the sacrilege that had not been committed, and were lodged in dungeons, notwithstanding the prosecuting officer's declaration of belief in their integrity!

Mr. Peixotto's presence at Bucharest proved the means of checking the outbreak. The Consulate became a place of refuge for hundreds who, in their terror, sought the protection of the American flag. All the Consuls (except the Russian) joined in a firm and indigant remonstrance, saying, that their

governments would judge whether the impunity enjoyed by the assailants of the Jews is not of a nature to encourage a repetition of scenes of violence quite unworthy of a civilized country which, as such, ought to ensure freedom and security to all religious denominations.

Our Secretary of State (Hon. Hamilton Fish), at an interview with the Vice-Presidents of the Board, assured them of his deep interest in the question, and his approval of Mr. Peixotto's course. His despatch to the Consul was warm in commendation. A paragraph of his letter of May 13th suggests his views and entitled the writer to the grateful acknowledgments he received:

> The Department approves your taking part in the remonstrance. Whatever caution and reserve may usually govern the policy of this Government in such matters, may be regarded as inexpedient when every guarantee and consideration of justice appears to have been set at defiance in the course pursued with reference to the unfortunate people referred to. You will not be backward in joining any similar protest, or other measure which the foreign representatives there may deem advisable, with a view to avert or mitigate further harshness toward the Israelites residents in or subjects of, the principalities.

Our Government evinced its recognition of the duty of America, for humanity's sake, thus intervening to save the persecuted Hebrews; and directed, through the medium of the distinguished Minister at Vienna, Hon. John Jay, diplomatic notes of sympathy with the Austrian, Italian, and others powers, then having under consideration the condition of the Roumanian Jews.

While Mr. Peixotto remained at Bucharest, there was no repetition of the excesses. He acted as almoner of the Board of Delegates and of other American Jewish organizations in distributing funds for the benefit of suffering Hebrews in Roumania, and encouraged them in the educational and social advancement which should prove the test of their right to equality. In the year 1873, the sum of $1,300 was voted by the Board (in addition to former subscriptions) for this important work, a special organization, the American Roumanian Society, coöperating. The signal benefits resulting from Mr. Peixotto's labors were appreciated by our European brethren, and especially by such leaders as M. Crémieux, Sir Francis Goldsmid, Baron de Worms, Prof. Lazarus, and Baron von Wertheimer.

In 1873, this Board was represented in the Congress at Brussels, which considered the question of emancipation of the Roumanian Jews. In 1874, 1875, and 1876, the Committee were enabled to say that the absence of news from Roumania should be regarded with satisfaction. While there was no positive legislation in favor of the Jews, it was a substantial gain to feel that they were not without friends, and that the policy of their government could no longer be

adverse to the interests of civil liberty. In 1875, the Committee coöperated with the Vienna branch of the *Alliance* in aiding an educational scheme for the benefit of the Jews of Roumania—the establishment of two Professorships at Czernowitz. The Committee also aided in the professional training of two students who were among the exiles from Roumania, and who pursued with honor the course of medicine at Jefferson College, Philadelphia. In 1874 and 1875, two remittances of $500 were made for the benefit of sufferers in Roumania, while assistance was given to several emigrants who preferred returning to their homes.

In 1876, Mr. Peixotto resigned the Consulate, and returned to America, having discharged his delicate and important duties with fidelity, intelligence and discrimination. On the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Turkey, the Israelites naturally had to endure more than their share of suffering. At Giurgevo, a number of Hebrews flying from the soldiery were massacred. Immediately on receipt of this news, the Committee addressed the State Department, calling attention to the

> unprotected condition of the Israelites in the Principalities, denied the rights of man because of peculiar treaty interpretations, oppressive and unprecedented local laws, and a bigoted populace to intensify the terror of proscription and persecution, and asking that the U. S. Ministers at Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and Vienna be instructed to coöperate with their colleagues in such measures as might be devised.

Messrs. Wolf and Peixotto presented the letter to the President and Secretary of State, who gave assurance of their profound sympathy, and promised immediate attention. Instructions were promptly communicated by Mr. Evarts to the Minister at Constantinople,

> to take such action in the matter as would, in his judgment, be best calculated to secure an amelioration of the condition of the oppressed people.

These instructions were faithfully carried out by the Minister, who warmly evinced his sympathy for the suffering Hebrews, the special victims of the war.

> Ordinary diplomatic representations [as the Secretary of State wrote in his reply, could not] be made as effective as is wished by all who desire to see right, justice, and humanity prevail.

The Ottoman Minister at Washington was in correspondence with the Board in May, 1877, to correct an erroneous impression prevailing with regard to the persecutions in Roumania, and to dispel the confusion which seemed to have arisen as between the subject provinces of Turkey in Europe and the tributary states. He was assured

that our criticism and fears applied to the Danubian Principalities, acknowledging

that the policy of the Porte towards the Israelites in the provinces, under the direct sovereignty of the Sultan, is impartial and enlightened, and is characterized by the concession to them of civil and religious liberty.

During the year 1877 and the early part of 1878, the condition of the Israelites in the districts near the seat of the Russo-Turkish War necessarily occasioned serious anxiety. The ferocity of portions of the soldiery and the cruelty and rapacity of the inhabitants, especially in Bulgaria, created such intense alarm as to constrain thousands of Jews to leave their homes and fly to Constantinople, Salonica, Adrianople, and other friendly cities. It is estimated that from 30,000 to 50,000 were thus exiled during the war: and this implied not alone the deprivation of present means of subsistence, but the loss of all their property. Their dwellings and their synagogues were sacked; they were reduced to the verge of starvation. The *Alliance* promptly established agencies in Turkey for distributing relief where most required. Like the Sanitary Commission in our Civil War, the *Alliance,* with the coöperation of such philanthropists as Baron Hirsch and his invaluable aid, M. Veneziani, did the work of humanity on and near the battlefields.

The Executive Committee of this Board determined to appeal to American Israelites for donations to the fund for the sufferers in Turkey. Shortly before Purim, 5638, a conference was held in New York with several of the Jewish ministers and others, the result of which was the formation of a Special Committee with the President of the Board as Chairman, and Mr. Jacob H. Schiff as Treasurer, to have charge of subscriptions. The response was as might have been expected. An amount exceeding $7,000 was transmitted to M. Crémieux, who assented with alacrity to our request for its distribution on the spot, and has cordially acknowledged the promptitude and thoughtfulness of American Israelites.

The momentous chapter of history which records the suffering of the Israelites of the Danubian States ends this year with the formal recognition of their rights.

While Roumania has not accepted as promptly as Servia, the situation forced upon her by the Memorable Congress of Berlin, the contest waged since 1866 by the Israelites of Europe and America is for them at an end, as the field is transferred to the cabinets of the Great Powers who, having assented to the independence of Roumania, Servia and Bulgaria, upon the single condition that full civil and religious liberty be extended to all inhabitants, without dis-

tinction of creed, are not likely to permit the effrontery of any petty prince to interpose obstacles to the complete realization of this condition precedent.

The story of the Berlin Congress is too recent to require more than a brief reference; and it is deemed in harmony with the object of this memoir to present in the appendix the address submitted to the Paris Conference by the President of the Board of Delegates.

It is simple justice to American Israelites to declare that the idea of Jewish organizations being represented at Berlin so as to submit to the Congress of the Great Powers a full and impartial statement of the Jewish question, and of the only possible solution, was suggested in a letter from the Board of Delegates to the Anglo-Jewish Association in February, 1878; and after an interchange of views at London, Mr. Peixotto (then on his way to his Consulate at Lyons), representing our Executive Committee, a substantial concurrence was effected, and a programme was adopted involving the practical completion of the work of the International Jewish Conference of 1876.

Palestine.

In the Autumn of 1865, there were urgent demands for assistance for our brethren in the Holy Land, suffering from the effects of the cholera visitation and other calamities. An appeal was made by the Executive Committee in response to the urgent request of Sir Moses Montefiore and his colleagues. The contributions of American Israelites reached $15,000—the B'nai B'rith, Free Sons of Israel, and many congregations and special committees assisting.

It was significant that, "while honoring the alacrity and generosity" with which American Israelites responded to this call, the Committee urged that the relief should be of a more enduring and substantial character. And the policy constantly impressed has been in the direction of the development of agricultural and industrial training, the cultivation of the soil, and especially the secular education of the young.

In the year 1867, Sir Moses Montefiore's report of his visit to Palestine was printed, and the Board dwelt upon its salient features and recommended contributions to the permanent fund. It is a singular circumstance that while, in cases of emergency and distress, American Hebrews have promptly and cordially responded to the call of their brethren in the Holy Land, they have been slow to appreciate and to sustain preventive measures which involved the thoughtful application of funds.

In 1868, the Board began to contribute towards the agricultural school at Jaffa, established by the *Alliance*. The Committee warmly condemned the system of sending messengers periodically from Palestine to Europe and America on collection tours, and also the apportionment of money among the "dignitaries" of the congregations of Jerusalem.

In 1869, the Board contributed $1,000 to the agricultural school at Jaffa, and $1,000 towards the fund raised by Dr. Hildesheimer, of Berlin, and his associates, for the erection of dwellings for aged and indigent pilgrims.

In 1870, a donation of $100 was made to the hospital at Jerusalem, and the same amount was contributed in 1871 for the like object. In 1872, the Committee published a report of the Jaffa school, showing its progress. In this year, in 1873, and in 1874, further appropriations were made for the agricultural school and the hospital.

In 1875, there was intelligence of a famine in Palestine, threatening serious distress. The Committee received donations to the amount of $1,150. The apprehended danger was averted, and the suffering ceased. The Committee contributed to the fund for building a "home for widows and strangers" at Jerusalem, and earnestly supported the plan promulgated in England as a testimonial

in recognition of the noble and arduous services of Sir Moses Montefiore in vindicating the rights of his coreligionists and in protecting and assisting the suffering and oppressed without distinction of creed or nationality.

This scheme embraced the promotion of industrial pursuits, the erection of improved dwellings, and the acquisition and cultivation of land on a moderate scale.

In 1876, besides the contribution in aid of the agricultural school at Jaffa, the Committee transmitted donations for the hospitals at Jerusalem and Tiberias. President Joachimsen presented a report upon the condition of the Jews in Palestine, suggesting the form in which American Israelites should coöperate for the advancement of the true interests of the Holy Land. Resolutions were adopted declaring as the sense of the Board—that it is opposed to indiscriminate charity in Palestine, that aid should be given to the development of industrial pursuits, and the moral, social and educational elevation of the people, that a plan of joint action should be matured with the London, Paris, Berlin and other organizations for the material, moral and intellectual improvement of the community.

The Committee corresponded with the Board of Deputies of British Jews and Anglo-Jewish Association (London), the *Alliance* (Paris), the *Allianz* (Vienna), and the Committee of which Prof. Lazarus was President (Berlin), and the replies received indicated

the virtual agreement of the various societies upon the principle urged by this Board. The subject has been earnestly pressed upon the consideration of thoughtful Israelites in Europe and America, and, at the convention at Paris in 1878, our representatives, seconded by the distinguished Prof. Graetz, of Breslau, advocated the policy above maintained.

It should not be forgotten that two American Israelites have signified for themselves and their fellow believers a substantial intention to assist in the amelioration of the condition of the Holy Land. Judah Touro, of New Orleans, with the counsel of his friend and co-laborer, Gershom Kursheedt, supplied the means of erecting and endowing almshouses at Jerusalem; if his benevolent intentions have been at times abused by unworthy recipients of his bounty, this is an additional reason why systematic supervision over the charities of the Holy Land should be exercised by the European and American Israelites. The benefaction of the late Sampson Simson, of New York, is not yet available; its income will be devoted to educational and industrial purposes.

In the year 1877, there arose grave apprehensions at and near Jerusalem in consequence of

> the large Jewish population of Russian birth who, being denied the privilege of protection by the German Consul temporarily representing their native land, were without a country, and the natural prey of a fanatic soldiery.

Hon. F. S. DeHass, then United States Consul at Jerusalem, being solicited to extend official protection to these friendless people, nobly took the responsibility; and although the State Department was compelled to withhold official assent, the Consul's promptitude served well until the danger had passed away. The Secretary of State (Mr. Evarts) obligingly considered our communication, stating the conditions on which the Consul could entertain the request for protection, and forcibly added

> that the sympathy of the United States for all the oppressed people in foreign countries has been freely manifested in all cases where it could be done in accordance with the spirit of international courtesy and diplomatic usage.

The grateful acknowledgments of the Board were extended to Mr. DeHass.

The present Consul at Jerusalem (Hon. J. G. Willson) kindly advised the Committee of destitution among Israelites there claiming to be American citizens. A remittance of $100 was made from the funds of the Board, and other sums privately contributed were en-

trusted to Mr. Willson, who disbursed the same carefully, with the aid of a local committee.

During the entire period of nineteen years, there has been but a single complaint as to the official or personal treatment by the successive Consuls of Israelites claiming aid, countenance or protection—and this proved, on investigation, unfounded. The Committee have found the Consuls, and especially Mr. DeHass and Mr. Willson, warmly interested in the Hebrews, and anxious to assist in the relief of suffering.

Emigration.

The despatch of poor emigrants to America has long constituted a burden and an unjust tax upon our large cities. The Board sought to check this abuse at a period when it threatened to be more than ordinarily vexatious. In the case of the emigration from West Russia in 1870 and from Roumania in 1873, the suggestions of the Executive Committee were partly heeded, and the consequence was a more judicious selection of families and individuals to be started on their new career in America.

The emigrants from Western Russian received and cared for by a Special Committee during 1870 and 1871 numbered 528—and the fund collected was nearly $7,000. In 1869, a collection had been made for the benefit of the Hebrews of Western Russia, and it was the conviction of the Committee that American Israelites could extend more substantial aid in this case by transmitting money to be expended on the spot for the relief of the necessitous. It happened, however, that the Central Committee at Koenigsberg preferred emigration as a remedy, and at first there was no scrutiny whatever as to the capacity of the unhappy emigrants for taking care of themselves in a strange country. Very few were mechanics or accustomed to labor of any kind—and some were encumbered with large families and were not the persons to be instructed in American usages and modes of work. In June, 1870, the Koenigsberg Committee yielded to the urgent solicitations of the Board and initiated a system whereby emigration was confined to the class that could be helped. The New York Committee were kept advised of intended arrivals, and it was found that but a small proportion of the new-comers required other than temporary help and kind encouragement on landing. The local authorities of New York cordially entered into the plans of our Committee and placed at their disposal a suitable building for the reception of the Jewish emigrants, who were supplied with bedding, cooking utensils and provisions. Mr. Saroni, at that time Treasurer of the Board, was indefatigable in seeing to the wants

of our charges, and, with his associates on the Special Committee supervised their despatch West and South, supplied them, in many cases, with goods, and otherwise helped them in their new departure. Not 25 of the whole number required subsequent assistance from the Committee, thus indicating the self-reliant character of the exiles who claimed our sympathy.

Again and again the Committee urged the adoption of some system throughout the United States and Europe whereby it would be possible to supervise the settlement of such emigrants in sections of the country deemed suitable as to climate and prospects. In 1873, some 65 emigrants from Roumania were assisted on their arrival on these shores and forwarded to various cities West and South, where opportunities presented themselves. The Roumanian Emigration Society was formed for the purpose of carrying out details. The Board of Delegates earnestly represented to the United States Consul at Bucharest the wrong of permitting indiscriminate emigration; and the representations thus made were not without effect.

Complaints continue that it is habitual with benevolent organizations in certain cities of Europe to despatch utterly helpless Jewish families to America—only to become a burden upon the charities. So serious had the evil become that it was resolved to make an urgent statement of the views of American Israelites at the Paris Conference of 1878. Mr. Stern, one of the delegates to the Conference, took charge of the subject and, besides an eloquent address, submitted a thoroughly prepared paper on the subject.

The correspondence of the Board of Delegates with the *Alliance*, the Koenigsberg Committee, and in reference to the Roumanian emigrants, and the paper last named will be found to cover the entire ground and to suggest a duty yet incumbent on American Israelites of organizing a system whereby intending emigrants can be intelligently aided and properly selected, and directed from the place of their residence to their new and promising home.

Whether a plan of colonization shall be adopted or whether simply a coöperative measure with European and American charitable societies as parties shall be preferred is a matter which is left by the Board of Delegates to the action of their successors. The preceding statement indicates the tenor and extent of our labors.

Home Affairs.

The usefulness of the Board of Delegates as an agency for uniting American Israelites in self-defence has, happily, not been severely tested. It has been occasionally requisite to remind the National

and State Governments of a discrimination against the Jewish religion or Hebrew citizens: rarely has a substantial wrong been committed under form of law or in hostility to the intelligent spirit of American legislation.

The growth of the Jewish body in the United States has certainly proved equal to that of other active denominations, if we bear in mind the fact that, until 1848, there was little appreciable immigration from Germany or Poland. The first synagogue in America was established in 1654 (at New York); but the second does not seem to have been organized until 1763; and in 1800, there were only seven congregations within the limits of the United States. Even the imperfect historical record which, with meagre materials, an industrious Committee has been able to prepare, shows that the prosperous Jewish institutions of today sprang from humble beginnings within the past thirty years.

Certainly the atmosphere of a free government has been favorable to the development of the Jewish body; and to its credit and advantage, and to the honor of our republic, its rights have been respected, and its progress has been steadily onward in harmony with the American idea.

Proscription in America.

In 1861, an act of Congress was approved, providing that the Chaplain appointed in the volunteer service must be "a regular ordained minister of some Christian denomination." Considering the fact that thousands of Israelites had volunteered into the army, and were thus deprived of the advantages of spiritual advice and consolation, the objectionable character of the legislation was made apparent in a memorial addressed by the Board to the Congress of the United States. It was insisted that the act was unconstitutional, inasmuch as it sought "to establish a religious test as a qualification for office." The Senate Military Committee promptly reported an amendatory act substituting for "Christian" the word "religious." In addition to this, the Executive Committee designated the Rev. Dr. Fischell to proceed to Washington, to look after the welfare of the Israelites in the camps and hospitals in that vicinity. He would accept no remuneration for his services, his expenses being defrayed by the Committee. During the period of Dr. Fischell's residence at Washington, he was enabled to visit the various divisions of the army of the Potomac, and gave his attention especially to the hospitals in Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria. His services were welcome

to many a sufferer, while American Israelites at least did a portion of their duty towards their comrades.

In December, 1862, Gen. U. S. Grant, then commanding the Department of the Tennessee, issued an order expelling "Jews as a class" from his lines. Immediately on receipt of this intelligence, the Committee, through Adolphus S. Solomons, Esq., of Washington, who has at all times proved his spirit and devotion in matters affecting his coreligionists, represented to the President and the Secretary of War the illegal, unjust and tyrannical character of the mandate, and had the satisfaction of learning that the General in Chief (Gen. Halleck) promptly revoked the Order and that it was disavowed by the President and Secretary of War. A dignified protest was prepared by the Committee and extensively published.

Christianity in the Constitution.

In March, 1864, the Presbyterian Conference held at Pittsburgh, Pa., petitioned Congress for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States recognizing Christianity as the religion of the land. Thus began an agitation which has not yet subsided, although its force was broken at the early stage by the action of the Board of Delegates. In February, 1865, our memorial was presented to the Senate by Mr. Sumner, who warmly approved of the course taken by the Board. The Judiciary Committee, through its chairman, Mr. Trumbull, assured the delegation that the Pittsburgh movement did not enjoy their sympathy, and that, whenever the matter should come before the Senate in a definite shape, the Board of Delegates should have an opportunity of appearing in opposition. The Judiciary Committee reported adversely to the prayer of the petition asking the amendment.

National conventions, having in view the engrafting of Christianity on the Constitution have been held year after year, but the movement does not gain ground. The intelligence of the American people is proof against so radical a departure from the policy adopted at the foundation of the Republic. In 1874, the House of Representatives again acted upon the question, asserting that the proposed amendment was "hostile to the spirit of American institutions."

President Lincoln.

In 1865, the Board of Delegates took appropriate action on learning of the lamentable death of the President of the United States, the beloved and trusted Lincoln, and, when the funeral services were

held in New York, participated as a body at the solemn ceremonial, which included a prayer by Rev. S. M. Isaacs, a member of the Executive Committee.

Maryland.

In 1865, the Constitution of Maryland was revised and the Convention adopted an amendment abolishing the test oath, which had heretofore rendered Israelites ineligible to office. The Executive Committee were in communication with prominent members of the Convention, who, advocating the principle of religious liberty, had the obnoxious provision stricken out.

North Carolina.

In 1866, a new Constitution was presented to the people of North Carolina for ratification. One of its provisions denied the right to hold office to any person who should question the divine authority of the Old and New Testament. The Executive Committee prepared an address and had it published in the North Carolina papers, calling upon the people of the state to reject the objectionable article. The Constitution was not accepted, and the Bill of Rights, subsequently adopted, is free from illiberality.

Reconstruction Act of 1866.

In the Reconstruction Act of 1866, the oath required to be taken by citizens qualifying as members of the Constitutional Convention was to be administered on the Holy Evangelists—a form of oath to which no Israelite would subscribe. The Executive Committee submitted a memorial to Congress, Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania advocating it. The Act, as finally adopted, modified the form of oath, pursuant to our suggestion.

College of New York.

In 1872, the attention of the Committee was directed to a discrimination against students of the Jewish faith at the College of New York. The President manifested no desire to adjust the matter in a liberal spirit. The Committee appealed to the trustees of the college, who modified the rule in question.

The Centennial.

In anticipation of the celebration of July 4, 1876, the Executive Committee issued a circular recommending to every Jewish congre-

gation in the United States the holding of a special service on that memorial day. In many places of worship the service was held, and the interest of American Israelites in the important anniversary was thus appropriately signified, while they united with their fellow citizens in other patriotic observances.

A significant event of the year was the dedication on the exposition grounds, Philadelphia, of the statue Religious Liberty, a noble work of the sculptor Ezekiel, a tribute by the Jewish Order B'nai B'rith to the Republic, which first "proclaimed liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Statistics.

No successful effort was made to obtain and tabulate statistical information respecting the Jewish institutions of the United States until, in 1877, a joint committee appointed by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and this Board undertook the work systematically, and published the result of reports from 1,003 cities and towns. While it is not claimed that the returns are complete, an approximate idea is furnished of the numbers and condition of the Jewish body in the several states; and, considering the comparative youth of our community, the record is creditable. Nevertheless, the publication is of more importance as indicating in what direction common and well-ordered efforts should be made for strengthening congregations and schools, so that at no distant day all Israelites dwelling in this land should contribute to the support of our synagogues and educational establishments. The excellent and comprehensive report of the Committee on Statistics (Mr. Wm. B. Hackenburg, Chairman) may be pronounced the first attempt of the kind conducted with any degree of accuracy in connection with modern Jewish affairs.

Hebrew Education.

In deference to its obligation "to establish a thorough union among all the Israelites of the United States," a broad and comprehensive idea, and of which it never lost sight, the Board sought from time to time the formation and encouragement of movements in this direction. Its pledge to act for American Israelites in their relations with their brethren of the Old World has been amply realized; and its coöperation with like organizations in Europe and its recognition by our government as qualified to speak and to consult for the general body, put its place beyond a doubt.

In the discussion, however, of questions affecting home interests as severed from their relation to the State, the Board was delicate

and tentative. So far as purely ecclesiastical affairs were to be considered, the Board, at its foundation, eschewed interference in the internal affairs of congregations; but, such were jealousies and such the sectional prejudices of fifteen or twenty years ago, its capacity for present and future good was sorely tried; and with pain and misgivings, its most thoughtful directors abandoned that which at last has been assumed as the chosen sphere of a central society of American Israelites—Hebrew education. The intelligence and foresight of those who planned free schools for neglected Hebrew children, and Maimonides College for forgotten Hebrew culture, have been amply manifested in the progress of this most important interest. The records of the Board of Delegates preserve the aspirations and the earnest beginnings of those among us who believed education the cornerstone of Judaism. Other projects indissolubly connected with the future of a religious body in a progressive country, were initiated or stimulated by the Board directly or indirectly. A favorite scheme of one of its ablest founders proved premature—this savored too distinctly of an ecclesiastical character to be even tolerated—so that the plan of a synod or similar authority was merely suggested to be pronounced beyond the domain of the Board. Its advisability has become apparent to many minds, but the time has not yet arrived for its recognition as a necessary force in Judaism.

At the session of 1862, both these questions—the ecclesiastical authority and Hebrew education—were considered and debated—the former being remanded to an independent gathering of congregations which has not yet been summoned, the latter taking the shape of a plan for a seminary. In 1865, the Board attended the opening of the first Hebrew free school in New York, and on several occasions manifested its substantial sympathy with this institution—now educating nearly 1,100 children.

Year after year, the Executive Committee urged upon the congregations the duty of establishing and maintaining a Hebrew college with local preparatory classes; until in 1867 a resolution was adopted that the Board would forthwith establish a Hebrew college, and organize a board of trustees, and a faculty for its government. On the 25th of October, 5628-1867, Maimonides College was opened at Philadelphia. Rev. Isaac Leeser was chosen provost of the faculty, and Rev. S. Morais, Rev. Dr. Jastrow, Rev. Dr. Bettelheim, and Rev. L. Buttenwieser (and Rev. George Jacobs subsequently) were the professors. They entered most zealously upon their labors: within three months, the spirit of the indefatigable chief had left

the frail body, and the college and American Israelites mourned the irreparable loss of Isaac Leeser.

The college was opened with five students, and its record was quite satisfactory as regards the progress of the classes, while three of the graduates have occupied with honor the position of minister—the only incumbents prepared in the United States. In 1873, the sessions were discontinued, a singular lack of interest being manifested by American Israelites.

The Board of Delegates found that the plan for sustaining the college did not meet the concurrence of the congregations. Within five years from the period of discouragement, the subject of Hebrew education has again been prominently presented, and it is earnestly hoped that, all reasons for conflicting methods ceasing, there will be a firm, generous, and united endeavor to establish a system of Hebrew study in America, with preparatory schools wherever the extent of the population permits, and ultimately a college or seminary distinguished for thoroughness of equipment and equal to the leading institutions of the character in Europe. The schools at Cincinnati and New York are already in successful operation.

Aid to Students.

The Executive Committee have assisted in the education of three students from Roumania and West Russia—two of whom have become physicians and the third is a respected minister, a graduate of Maimonides College. The progress of these students has offered the Committee peculiar pleasure, and suggested the presentation of a report in 1875, favoring a fund for stipends or scholarships to be awarded to deserving students. Owing, doubtless, to the financial pressure of the times, no steps were taken to institute the proposed fund. The idea has, however, met with approval, and has been in part realized by the founding of prizes for pupils of the Hebrew free schools and orphan asylums, and by the indigent students' fund of the Union College, Cincinnati.

The Publication Society.

In 1866, the Committee recommended the formation of a Publication Board, whose scope should include the reprint and translation of works bearing on Hebrew literature and antiquities. In 1867, a Special Committee was appointed to report upon the subject, and recommended the establishment of a society with membership at a moderate rate, each subscriber to receive copies of the yearly publi-

cations—the series to embrace reading books for Jewish schools, works in the several departments of Hebrew literature and Jewish history—philosophical work to be reprinted, and authors and translators of useful books to be aided in publishing them. In 1870, another committee was appointed (Rev. Dr. Jastrow, Rev. S. M. Isaacs, Rev. Geo. Jacobs, Hon. P. J. Joachimsen) and reported at the following session a digested plan for the organization of the society. The American Jewish Publication Society was accordingly incorporated in 1872, and its affairs were soon in energetic hands; for two years, its publications appeared and gave great satisfaction. Its membership reached twelve hundred; but in 1875 the disturbance in general affairs affected such interests disastrously, and the managers have not felt encouraged to issue further publications.

International Jewish Conferences.

On the 29th and 30th of October, 1872, at the invitation of the Berlin-Roumanian Committee, a Conference assembled at Brussels to consider the condition of our brethren in the Danubian States. Mr. Isaac Seligman, of London, and Hon. B. F. Peixotto represented this Board at the Conference, which contributed most powerfully to the clear understanding of the Jewish Question. An Executive Committee was formed to sit at Vienna, whose duty was to represent the views of the Israelites to their respective governments with a view of securing united action. This was, in the language of our representative,

> the first assemblage ever convoked, which including all shades of religious sentiment within the house of Israel, had no discord as to doctrine or dogma, but unanimously agreed on the broad ground of Judaism and humanity never to rest until every enthralled Israelite stands forth a free man.

There were complications which hampered the work of the Vienna Committee, but the Brussels Conference was productive of substantial benefit in suggesting methods of action and introducing to one another the leading Israelites of the several countries, so that thenceforth action was concurrent.

The second International Conference was held at Paris, December 16, 1876. The object was again concert of action with a view to secure for the Hebrews of the Danubian Principalities civil and religious liberty. Messrs. William Seligman and Arthur L. Levy, of New York, then resident at Paris, represented the Board at this important gathering, Mr. Seligman being one of the Vice-Presidents.

The venerable Crémieux presided, and enthusiastically welcomed our delegates. A memorial was adopted for immediate transmission to the European envoys, then sitting at Constantinople, and a copy was forwarded to the government of every nation represented at the Paris Conference. The object of the assemblage was attained in the presentation of the memorial, and the awakening of public opinion to the point of active intervention for the rescue of the oppressed Hebrews. The social gain of this fraternal meeting was felt in the renewed intercourse of generous, patriotic and devoted Israelites, speaking diverse dialects, but one and united in the language of the Jewish heart, and inspired by the Maccabean spirit of the chief of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle.*

The third Conference took place at Paris, August 15, 1878. This was convened by the *Alliance* principally at the suggestion of this Board, at whose session in 1877, a resolution was adopted recommending a convention for the interchange of opinion and pursuit of a plan of action which will benefit the cause of Religious Liberty, and promote learning among the Hebrew race. The particular objects suggested were thus set forth in the official letter:

I. The liberation of our brethren from oppressive and odious law, discriminating against them because of their faith or race, and still in force in certain sections of Europe, as well as in Asia and Africa.

II. The study of the causes which prevent the fraternization of Israelites with their fellow subjects in these countries—and the suggestion of the reciprocal duty of such Israelites, if it appear that they are as a body, or in any marked degree, amenable to the charge of unworthiness of the full privileges of citizenship.

III. The obligations of Israelites generally to the Holy Land—the full and exhaustive study of the present condition of the Jewish community there, with a view to ascertain the avoidable causes of their helplessness, and to rescue the children from the fate of parents apparently incapable of acting for themselves in the spirit of this age of industry and coöperation.

IV. The promotion of Hebrew education, the advancement of Hebrew literature, and the consideration of the expediency and propriety of convening a synod for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of modern Judaism, and the authoritative exposition of Jewish ecclesiastical law.

Messrs. Myer Stern, B. F. Peixotto, and Rev. H. S. Jacobs were present of the delegates representing this Board, Rev. H. S. Jacobs being chosen Vice-President. Crémieux again presided at the general meetings, the Conference dividing itself into sections for com-

mittee work. The propositions submitted by the Board of Delegates received careful and intelligent consideration, and a vote of thanks was passed to our organization for the papers prepared and presented to the Conference. These were two by the President, one by Mr. Henry Rice, of the United Hebrew Charities, New York, embodying a thoughtful and suggestive treatise on the emigration of Jews to the United States, sustained by Mr. Stern in an address that was warmly commended, and one by Rev. H. S. Jacobs, on the Israelites of Palestine, stating succinctly the American opinion on this question. The proposition in regard to ecclesiastical law was, in harmony with the resolution of our Board, not considered at the Conference.

The Union.

At the session of 1876, a committee was appointed to confer with similar committees of the Educational Convention of May, of that year, and of the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations meeting in July. In 1877, the committee reported that there was an apparently irreconcilable difference of opinion as to important details, and that the accession of Eastern Congregations to the Union seemed impracticable, and asked to be discharged. The Board, however, requested the Committee to continue, and

reaffirmed in its belief in the national good to accrue from a just and perfect union among Israelites of the United States.

The Committee was increased, consisting of Messrs. Sulzberger, Wolf, Bamberger, Hackenburg and Binswanger, and together with the President of the Board, met at Philadelphia in July, in Conference with the Committee of the Union, and agreed upon a plan to be submitted to the congregations. At a special session in November, 1877, the Board unanimously agreed to the terms proposed by the Joint Committee; and it being apparent that the requisite number of congregations in the eastern states would approve of the same, the Council of the Union at Milwaukee, in July, 1787, adopted the necessary changes in the organic law and the Union was substantially effected. Messrs. Sulzberger and Ellinger of the Executive Committee were present at Milwaukee, to signify the hearty concurrence of the Eastern Congregations. On their report, the Executive Committee formally notified the congregations, and the final step in this work of consolidation was happily taken.

The perpetuation of the interest of American Israelites in intelligent, benevolent, and humane movements for the elevation and emancipation of their brethren in foreign lands, is secured by the

formation of a Standing Committee of the Union, designated the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights.

This report would be incomplete without a tribute to the cordial coöperation of the officers. While it is not necessary to suggest a recognition of their self-sacrificing labors, or to indicate their particular share in the success of the measures narrated, it will not be deemed out of place to allude to the signal services rendered to Judaism by the founders of the Board, and by those of its active officers who have passed away from earth. Of the signers of the call which led to the formation of the society, Rev. S. M. Isaacs was the ruling spirit, and his interest in the Board and its work—his devotion to Palestine and Jewish emancipation—ceased only with his death. The national grief at his loss is too fresh, and the relations of the writer were too dear and intimate to permit of a more extended reference to his labors. Rev. Isaac Leeser was Vice-President from 1859 to 1868, and there has been no man in this country so distinguished as he in the cause of Hebrew literature, enriching it with the products of his own genius, no less than with the skilful and vigorous translation of standard religious works, and crowning his labors with an original English version of the Holy Scriptures. The first President was Henry I. Hart, of New York, a merchant of high standing, an Israelite of thought and spirit, zealously enjoying each opportunity of rendering a patriotic service. He officiated until his decease in 1863. Another indefatigable officer was Israel I. Jones, of Mobile, a Vice-President from 1861 to 1865. Of the Presidents who survive, his colleagues will ever cordially remember Abraham Hart, of Philadelphia (1866 to 1871), a gentleman identified with American literature of a generation ago, and warmly interested in Jewish progress during his life-long connection with the synagogues and charities of Philadelphia. Benjamin J. Hart, of New York, was Vice-President from 1869 to 1871, and President from 1871 to 1874, and earnestly contributed to the success of the Board; during his administration, it acquired fresh strength from the affiliation of several prominent congregations that had theretofore kept aloof. Hon. Philip J. Joachimsen, of New York, was Vice-President from 1871 to 1874 and President from 1874 to 1876, and gave special attention to the question of enlarging the usefulness of the Board, preparing valuable papers on Palestine and other topics.

The last President (1876-1878) was connected with the Board as Secretary from its organization. Mr. Henry Josephi was Vice-President from 1865 to 1869. Hon. Simon Wolf became one of the

Vice-Presidents in 1871, and continued until the final meeting of the Board, one of its most efficient officers. Messrs. Isidor Binswanger and William B. Hackenburg were successively Vice-Presidents from 1875 to 1878.

Mr. G. N. Herrmann was the first Treasurer. Mr. Alex. S. Saroni was chosen Treasurer in 1861, and remained in office until 1874, when he declined a reëlection. He was most faithful and energetic in the discharge of his duties, and rendered invaluable service in connection with the immigration from Russia. Mr. L. Bamberger was his successor, and Mr. Hezekiah Kohn was elected for the last term. Mr. Adolph L. Sanger was Secretary in 1877 and 1878.

The following is the final roll of the officers and Executive Committee elected at the Convention of 1878:

President: Myer S. Isaacs, of New York.

Vice-Presidents: Simon Wolf, of Washington; William B. Hackenburg, of Philadelphia.

Treasurer: Hezekiah Kohn, of New York.

Secretary: Adolph L. Sanger, of New York.

Executive Committee: Rev. Geo. Jacobs and Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia; Moritz Ellinger, Louis Asch, Thos. H. Keesing, Abm. Baum, Dr. Horatio Gomez, M. Berliner, William Bennett, Myer Stern, Rev. H. P. Mendes, of New York; Dr. M. Blumenthal, representing Philadelphia; Rev. H. S. Jacobs, representing Richmond, Va.

In closing this memoir, it should be understood that the writer has deemed it more important to present a record of facts than to embellish the report with his own opinions or with glittering generalities.

American Israelites are at last aroused to a sense of what has been left undone during the wanderings in the wilderness—the struggles for position and the means of existence. With this awakening from a fitful slumber, comes a refreshing sense of invigorating labor to be done that the Jewish body may be strengthened and purified—and enjoy health and peace—redeemed from inactivity and lethargy. The utility of coöperative measures proposed tentatively by the Board of Delegates will be tested in the wider sphere offered through the medium of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Israel's watchword is now, as ever—enlightenment—education. Israel's future largely depends upon an intelligent discernment of the methods and agencies that make for any people's progress. Good elementary schools, a graded scheme of Hebrew study culminating in a college and seminary, an intelligent system of publications, gen-

erous sympathy and encouragement extended to such measures as the *Alliance* has initiated for the benefit of our brethren in foreign lands, where oppression and persecution have heretofore crushed the national spirit—these are the agencies already invoked by the Union, and which must inevitably secure the warm approval and support of the community, happily emancipated from sectional prejudices and the weakness of the transition period.

In days to come, when we shall have learned to appreciate the labors of the pioneers who sought to hew out for American Judaism a path that should lead to denominational strength and permanence, it will be regarded as not least in merit to have aided in so directing the work of the Board of Delegates that no unworthy line will be found in its records: If this modest tribute to the past may be paid in all sincerity, there remains but to express the ardent wish that, in the future, harmony and fidelity may guide the counsels of the Union, and that American Israelites may be blessed with prosperity and the power, united with the will, of contributing to the happiness and the enfranchisement of humanity.

A.

NEW YORK, July 15, 1878.

To the General Assembly of Israelites,
Convened at Paris, August 12, 5638—1878.

BRETHREN,

American Israelites separated from you by the expanse of the Atlantic, are proud to feel themselves your kinsmen, your loving neighbors.

We have delegated to this Convention representatives who cordially salute you in the name of three hundred thousand co-religionists dwelling in the Republic which France assisted in founding—a Republic which first of all modern nations "proclaimed liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

I. Since the invitation to this Assembly was issued, one important question which has enlisted the earnest and indefatigable labors of the *Alliance* and kindred organizations has passed into history. The Hebrews of Roumania are free—the blessings of religious liberty have been conferred upon all residents of independent Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria and Roumelia.

In this happy hour, when we congratulate our brethren near the Danube upon their recognition as men, we shall not recall the humiliations, the sufferings, the persecutions of twenty years: let us rather raise a hymn of thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has preserved us alive unto this day, to see the great redemption. Let us hope that, as the emancipation from Egypt was followed by the gift of the Law—liberty and light, manhood and obedience, responsibility and knowledge, inseparable concomitants—the enfranchisement of our brethren in the Orient shall be marked by a generous and harmonious direction of the young communities just emerging

from darkness and despotism, just freed from the shackles of moral slavery. And be it our part to sustain the Hebrews of those lands who have secured the rights and incurred the obligations of freemen, assured that with the good will and hearty encouragement of their fellow believers, they will prove themselves right worthy of the zealous confidence which in their years of affliction raised for them friends everywhere, and engaged the sympathies of leading men in every civilized government, and the powerful and devoted advocacy of the distinguished statesmen who finally set the seal upon their deliverance.

II. We would call your attention to a report submitted to the Board of Delegates in 1876, embracing correspondence on the subject of Palestine. Can we not, ought we not, avail ourselves of the present moment for securing industrial and educational facilities for such Hebrew residents of Palestine as will conform to the method of administration devised by Committees of European and American Israelites? A large fund will in course of a few years be available through the provident foresight of the late Sampson Simson, a benevolent resident of New York. The Touro Almshouses at Jerusalem also attest the interest Americans take in the Holy Land. The humane action of the former United States Consul at Jerusalem in extending during a pressing exigency, American protection to hundreds of Hebrews, otherwise friendless and hopeless, is another illustration of American spirit. If this Assembly shall devise a plan for improving the chances of the rising generation in Palestine to become useful, enterprising, and honored citizens, taking rank with the best in their land, the co-operation of American Israelites may be depended upon. We object only to such schemes as maintain the pauperization of communities. We are for raising the tone of the Jewish body in Palestine, as in all lands where progress has been checked by avoidable or uncontrollable causes.

III. We recommend a plan for directing emigration of Jewish young men from countries where discriminating laws have heretofore checked their advance, or where the population is overcrowded. A scheme of emigration which shall assist energetic and industrious youth to a new field, a new home in favored districts, of the Old or the New World, which shall exclude the listless and improvident, and leave the unhappy class of chronic poor to the benevolence and resources of their place of residence, which shall secure co-operation in the Far West where skill and industry are prized and welcomed as no where else in the Universe, but where a man must labor in order to live—will result in enduring benefit to mankind. Colonies selected from intending emigrants of a common neighborhood and of harmonious tastes, have proved successful in the new Territories of the Union, and Jewish societies of our chief cities are ready to join in a practical co-operative plan of emigration. Details upon this subject will be submitted by our delegates.

IV. We have instituted a system of statistics for American Israelites, which we submit for your consideration.

In another paper, written at the request of the Central Committee of *Alliance,* we have embodied a suggestion for more effectual co-operation between the Israelites of the Old and the New World. Be assured of our hearty, zealous assumption of the share delegated to us of work to be prepared and carried out. We may differ as to details, but we are cordially in accord as to the end to be accomplished.

We believe that, in God's providence, the Hebrews are realizing the change of methods demanded to effect progress in this age. Maintaining with the

resolution of our ancestors the glorious faith of Moses and Isaiah, seeking with the zeal of the Maccabees to free our race from moral and political servitude, sensible of our obligations to the heroes of peace and war who emblazoned the Jewish name upon the temple of history—we appreciate our duty as citizens of enlightened sovereignties, whose laws protect all alike, whatever their religious profession, and we recognize the eternal rule of progress which bids us rise and advance with mankind.

Thank God, we shall be able to consult and to act for the benefit of our brethren who, having been emancipated, wish to prove their title to liberty and equality. These Conferences represent the spirit of our age. We cannot be isolated; we must labor and advise in harmony.

American Israelites unite right earnestly in the idea and in the work of this Assembly.

Yours Faithfully,
MYER S. ISAACS, *President.*

A. L. SANGER, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX III.

A Birdseye View of Jewish Civic Activity and Patriotism all Over the World During Our Civil War.

Correspondence between Myer S. Isaacs and Gen. B. F. Butler, 1864.

I—Butler to Isaacs.[1]

HEADQUARTERS 18th ARMY CORPS,

Department of Virginia and North Carolina.

Fortress Monroe, Feb. 4, 1864.

Sir:

Your letter in regard to the report of Gen. Graham's expedition, in which it was said that five Jews were captured, trying to run the blockade, inquiring of me why I have specified the religion of these contraband traders, and commenting upon the act, as if I wished to make invidious religious distinctions, is received.

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[1] The letter from Mr., subsequently Judge, Isaacs, which opened this correspondence, does not seem to have been preserved. The incident which provoked it, is described by Hon. Simon Wolf in his "The Presidents I Have Known" (pp. 8-9) as follows: "One day the Associated Press brought a telegram signed by Benj. F. Butler, who commanded at Fortress Monroe, stating that his troops 'had captured 150 rebels, 90 mules, 60 contrabands and four Jews.'" Mr. Wolf adds: "It was so entirely un-American and uncalled for, to associate American citizens of Jewish faith in a manner that was discreditable, that I called on the President, and for a moment he enjoyed what he called the joke, but when I brought to his attention the slur and unjustifiable insinuation, he agreed with me, and gave me a pass to go to Fortress Monroe. General Butler received me with cordiality, invited me to dinner, and we had a pleasant talk. He, like so many other generals who had made mistakes, claimed that he knew nothing of the message, that it had been sent by a subordinate and that he would have the error corrected at once, regretting the incident, and assuring me of his warm friendship not only personally, but for those whom I represented, and I must say that his promise in this direction was made good afterwards." Butler's letter is reprinted in "Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War," 1917, vol. iii, p. 371.

The manner in which the phrase got itself into the telegraphic reports was very simple. The report of the return of the expedition, was made to me, and as it was made, I dictated portions of it to the telegraph, using the words of the report, so that it was in fact, done without thought on my part, and only in the course of business, as I should have mentioned any other fact reported to me by my subordinate, when reporting to my superior.

But since my attention has been drawn to it by your comments, and others of the press, I really do not see any reason for changing the phrase.

It was meant, when used, to designate nationality, and not religion, as one would say, five Irishmen, five Germans, or five Italians. I have always considered the Jews a nationality, although possessing no country. The closeness with which they cling together, the aid which they afford each other, on all proper and sometimes improper occasions, the fact that nearly all of them pursue substantially the same employment, so far as I have known them—that of traders, merchants and bankers—the very general obedience to the prohibition against marriage with Gentiles, their faith, which looks forward to the time when they are to be gathered together in the former land of their nation, all serve to show a closer tie of kindred and nation among the Hebrews, and a greater homogeneity, than belongs to any other nation, although its people live in closer proximity. So that while I disclaim all intention of any reflection upon their national religion, which was the foundation and typical of that of the Christian world, and holding to the doctrines of Christianity with reverence for the Saviour, no one can stigmatize all Jews, yet one may be reasonably permitted in speaking of that nation, to suppose there may be from all the Jews of the South,—two of whom certainly are in the Confederate Cabinet,[2]—at least *five,* who might attempt to carry on a contraband trade. Because, it may be reverently remembered, that when the Saviour, aided by omniscience, undertook to choose twelve confidential friends from among that nation, he got one that was a "thief and had a devil."

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully yours,
BENJ F. BUTLER,
Major General,
U.S.V.

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[2] Error; as further shown hereafter Judah P. Benjamin was the only Jewish member of the Confederate Cabinet. See my biography of him in *Publications,* No. 12; and in "The Jewish Encyclopedia"; also the very able book devoted to his career by Prof. Pierce Butler.

II—Isaacs to Butler.[3]

150 Nassau St.,
Maj. Gen. Butler, U. S. V. New York, February 9, 1864.

General:

Your letter dated the 4th inst. reached me today. I am obliged to you for the full and frank exposition of your views. Would you object to the publication of your letter?

I regret to find so grievous a misconception or rather conflict of ideas as to the meaning of the term "Jew." I do not propose trespassing upon your patience by argument or illustration, farther than this: I am a native American, and proud of it—I attend Synagogue, and believe in the principles of Judaism, and am therefore a Jew in the sense that you are a Christian; yet I am an American in nationality.

I regret further, that your experience of professors of our faith has been so unfavorable that you believe that nearly all of them pursue substantially the same employment—that of traders, merchants and bankers. While those diverse occupations are perfectly honorable in themselves, and no Jew or other person assumes a badge of disgrace *per se* by entering upon either department of business, it is nevertheless a serious mistake to charge that the liberal professions are avoided by Israelites.

Not to weary you by a lengthy statement, I would simply mention a few facts that have come under my observation in this little city. At the University, Columbia College and the Free Academy,[4] there are Professors who are Hebrews in faith—at the latter institution, there are two instructors and nearly 80 Jewish students. In the legal profession, there are a large number of our creed, one of them now occupying the honorable position of Judge of the Common Pleas, this gentleman being a native of New York and an earnest American.[5] In medicine there are many eminent practitioners, some of the highest recognized skill and distinction. Among the clergy, Jewish divines are of course adequately represented—all ministers draw their inspiration from the Scriptures, the accepted basis of

[3] Printed in *The Jewish Messenger,* February 26, 1864. According to issue of March 4, 1864, the first three letters were printed in the *Express, Times,* and other papers.

[4] Now called College of the City of New York.

[5] The reference is to Albert Cardozo. "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. iii, p. 576; vol. ix, p. 276; Wilson, "Memorial History of New York," vol. iii, pp. 543, 559-61.

Judaism, and as you say, the foundation of Christianity. As to the press, there are two Jewish weeklies; and upon the editorial staffs of the *Commercial, Express, Times* and other journals, there are able gentlemen of the Jewish faith, of whom also there is a large representation in the reportorial corps. In literary and scientific circles, you find the Israelite as well as the Christian. The army, navy and marine corps, have a fair representation of Israelites, some of them distinguished, earnest and patriotic. One of our regiments, which served first as militia, then as a three-year regiment, and is now home on furlough to return to the field a veteran organization, is composed mainly of Israelites. If, at any time, you should desire to be informed of the extent of your error with regard to the occupations of the Jews, I should be most happy to furnish you with details.

You will not forget, when reminding me that there are two Jews in the rebel cabinet, (who is the other, besides Benjamin?), that a pattern of distinction in the church militant is a Maj. General in Davis' army, and that Davis himself professes to be a devout member of the church. There are traitors among professors of Judaism, unfortunately, as well as among Christians. A good Jew can no more be a traitor to our flag, than an earnest believer in Christianity can be enumerated among those who speculate on the miseries of their country. Mr. Benjamin does not adhere to Judaism—he married a Christian. I did not intend to be so verbose. However, General, I have but another suggestion to make. If hereafter, any of your subordinates capture a man with a foreign patronymic, please designate his nationality by calling him German, Russian or French, as the case may be, and not Jew. In nine cases out of ten, your prisoner is neither Jew nor Christian. Assured that you will pardon the liberty of this renewed trespass upon your patience, I have the honor to be,

Most respectfully yours,

M. S. ISAACS.

III—Butler to Isaacs.[6]

HEADQUARTERS 18th ARMY CORPS,

Department of Virginia and North Carolina.

Fortress Monroe, Feb. 13, 1864.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your note of February 9th, and am very glad to have my opinions corrected by one who apparently understands so

[6] See "Correspondence," *supra,* vol. iii, p. 412.

well the condition of the Hebrews as a nation and of their faith as a religion.

I admit that my experience with men of the Jewish faith or nation, has been an unfortunate one.

Living in an inland town in Massachusetts prior to the War, I had met but few, and since the War, those whom I have seen, have been principally engaged in the occupation which caused the capture of those which has occasioned this correspondence, and you yourself will admit that that mode of making their acquaintance has not been a favorable one.

I refer to Mr. Memminger as the other member of the Confederate Cabinet. I have been informed that Mr. Mallory is also of the Jewish faith or nationality.

I acknowledge the fairness of the hit in regard to Maj. Gen. Polk and Davis. They are both members of the Christian Church upon whose services I attend.

I should be much obliged to you for the detail of facts which you have offered to furnish, for finding my impressions incorrect upon any subject, I always desire to be enlightened.

Although the letter to you was not written for publication, yet I have no objection to its being published.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
BENJ. F. BUTLER,
Major General, Comg.

IV—Isaacs to Butler.[7]

General:

I promised redeeming my promise, to furnish you with facts illustrating "the extent of your error, with regard to the occupations of the Jews."

In my letter of the 9th ult. I mentioned with necessary brevity a few facts relative to the Israelites of my city, which, you have frankly admitted, were new to you, and had the effect of correcting the misapprehension under which you had labored.

I omitted to direct your attention to another series of facts which affect the question, and that is, that distinction in faith has not been, nor should it be, a bar to the progress of residents of our creed in political advancement. There are in the federal, state, and munici-

[7] Letter to General Butler written by Myer S. Isaacs, Secretary of Board of Delegates of American Israelites, March, 1864. From a Draft in the Files of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites.

pal offices, many faithful citizens of the Jewish religion, some of whom have occupied positions of trust and responsibility for years, and, like many of their associates, have survived changes of administration, and the consequent rotation which is now the rule, and proved indispensable to the regular routine of their several departments. Among offices to which Israelites have not been ineligible, I might mention, besides the Judgeship of the Common Pleas now so honorably filled, those of District Attorney, City Judge, Sheriff, Surveyor of the Port, Member of Congress, Superintendent of Public Buildings, Councilmen, etc. A respected Israelite occupied with credit the post of President of our local Council.[8] And among the central and district organizations of several parties, Israelites have not been precluded from holding high offices, thus demonstrating that their personal political influence has not been affected by their peculiar religious belief, and beyond confines of New York, are many prominent examples of American Israelites whom their fellow citizens have delighted to honor. Conspicuous are Governor Salomon of Wisconsin,[9] Ex. Lt. Gov. Henry M. Hyams of Louisiana,[10] Judge Heydenfeldt of California,[11] Judge Samuels of Iowa,[12] Judge David Naar of N. J.,[13] Hon. Henry M. Phillips of Pennsylvania,[14] and

[8] The reference is to Jonas N. Phillips, acting mayor of New York in 1857. "The Jewish Encyclopedia," *supra*, and vol. x, p. 4.

[9] Edward Salomon was Governor of Wisconsin, 1862-3, according to Appleton's "Cyclopedia of American Biography," vol. v, p. 379. Lemke's *Geschichte des Deutschthums von New York*, pp. 149-152, confirms this, but shows that he was not a Jew. Edward S. Solomon (Saloman), who became Brigadier General during the Civil War, was appointed Governor of Washington Territory by Gen. Grant: Wolf in *Publications*, No. 3, pp. 26-32; see also "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. xi, p. 450; also Simon Wolf's "American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," pp. 164-170, and was a professing Jew, and the two men have been confused with each other.

[10] Markens, "The Hebrews in America," p. 177; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vi, p. 512.

[11] See articles by myself and Mr. Friedenberg, *Publications*, No. 9, pp. 50-1; No. 10, p. 129 *et seq.*

[12] Doubtful.

[13] *Publications*, No. 17, p. 42; also "Cyclopedia," vol. iv, p. 475.

[14] See articles by Prof. Jastrow, myself and Mr. Friedenberg in *Publications*, No. 1, p. 53; No. 5, p. 145; No. 19, p. 99; "Cyclopedia," vol. iv, p. 759; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. x, p. 2; Morais, "Jews of Philadelphia," pp. 402-4.

Messrs. Myer Strouse,[15] Ancona[16] and Lazar,[17] Members of the present House of Representatives from the same state. Among New York representatives in the Army of the Union, may be mentioned Generals Judah[18] (who captured Morgan) and Newman,[19] formerly Lt. Col. of the 31st N. Y. Vols., who died from wounds received at Gettysburg. When Missouri was invaded at the commencement of the war, her Israelite citizens were the first to rally for her defence; they constituted a formidable proportion of the troops raised by the Colonels Boernstein,[20] Stiefel[21] and Solomon[9] (the latter now a Brig. General I believe), and the first named officer was for a time provisional governor of Missouri. During the "July riots" in this city, a young Israelite officer, Col. Mayer,[22] was among the most conspicuous of those that assisted in the maintenance of law and order.

Nor will the student of American history overlook those that have contributed by their energy, industry, intelligence and probity, to the advancement of its commercial interests. No one could detract from the merits of American merchants, or fail to recognize the influence they have exercised upon the prosperity of the country. It has not been attempted to deny or depreciate the part Israelite citizens have always faithfully discharged in this particular. Although but a very small percentage of the population—it is doubtful whether the entire number of Israelites in the United States exceeds 200,000—they occupy in our cities, such as New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco, and other places, a disproportionately high

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[15] See Lewis Abraham, "The Jewish American as a Politician," in *American Jews' Annual,* 1888, p. 114; and Morais, p. 406.

[16] A sketch of Sydenham E. Ancona appears in Lanman's "Dictionary of Congress," 1868, but he was apparently not a Jew.

[17] The same is true, of Jesse Lazar.

[18] See biography of Henry Moses Judah in vol. iii of Appleton's "Cyclopedia of American Biography," p. 482.

[19] See Gen. Leopold C. Newman's biography in Wolf's "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," p. 285; *Publications,* No. 3, p. 34.

[20] Compare Wolf, p. 220.

[21] Doubtful.

[22] Compare article by Wolf in *Publications,* No. 3, p. 34; and Wolf's "American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," p. 284, for sketch of Gen. Wm. Mayer. See also sketch of Major Adolph Mayer in *Publications,* No. 20, p. 151.

position in the commercial world. The annals of New England show that the City of Newport,—at one time enjoying the most extended commerce of the ports of the United Colonies and States—owed its prosperity largely to the Israelites resident there—the first of whom settled there as early as 1658—as attested by the names of streets and wharves to this day, and the grateful memory cherished in the place of its Jewish citizens. The name of one—Touro—is world-wide as a philanthropist.[23]

Another connection to which I have not adverted, illustrating the Israelites as constituting even an unusually valuable element of the community, is their remarkable benevolence as a class. No Israelite is thrown upon public charity, although Israelites bear their share of public burdens, in the support of these communal institutions. In this city, we have a Hospital, which during the war, has been freely opened for the reception of the nation's defenders—whatever their religious belief—and an Orphan Home, both notable buildings, and a vast number of benevolent societies which unitedly sustain our poor, and obviate the necessity of recourse to the public charities. In other cities, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, New Orleans and Baltimore, similar benevolent institutions are liberally sustained, and wherever there are ten Jewish families, there is a benevolent society for resident or transient poor.[24]

I do not overlook the consideration that there are some unworthy members of the Synagogues. It is not surprising that there should be "black sheep" among Jews as among Gentiles—but I claim that the Israelites in America present an unusually fair record in respect of statistics. There are not many inmates of the state or county prisons, and *but a single Israelite* has been executed in the United States—that exception quite recently, for a military offense. There is a lower class among those of the Jewish faith, as among Christians. But it is not from these that you would select representatives of the general body—this is a class to be elevated and made respectable—and this process is going on with remarkable success, when it is considered that two-thirds of our Jewish population are immigrants of less than 25 years' residence, and the large majority of such immi-

[23] See my sketch of Judah Touro in *Publications,* No. 13, p. 93; No. 27; and "The Jewish Encyclopedia" biography of him by Leon Huhner.

[24] "Proceedings of the 250th Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States," 1906; Bogen, "Jewish Philanthropy"; and Lee K. Frankel in *Jewish Charity,* February, 1905.

grants having fled from the unbearable tyranny of German despotism, by reason of which they had been denied all opportunity of improvement and cultivation.

And now, General, permit me to go over a little broader ground, and show the influence Israelites abroad have exercised for the benefit of our beloved Union. Loving liberty as their very life, the Jewish "bankers and merchants" of Europe have, without exception, stood by the Union. It does not require a vivid imagination to portray the extent of the injury the cause of the Union must have sustained, had the Jewish capitalists turned a friendly ear to the importunities of southern statesmen, ambassadors and agents, and assisted the Confederates *in that which was their greatest strait*—the supply of money. But, sir, to a man, they stood aloof from such an alliance with a government confessedly established *with slavery as a corner stone*—and this is the stand taken by one of the noblest of them, Baron M. A. von Rothschild of Frankfort, who is thus placed on record by the U. S. Consul General at Frankfort in a letter addressed to *Harper's Weekly*, which had calumniated the house of Rothschild:

> Baron Rothschild informed me that all Germany condemned this act of lending money to establish a slaveholding government, and that so great was the public opinion against it that Erlanger & Co.[25] dare not offer it on the Frankfort Bourse.

Thus you perceive that the Jewish banker could not assist the cause of the Confederates, while the one who *did* father the Confederate loan and was falsely denominated an Israelite, had no claim to be admitted among the brethren of Rothschild, Fould, Pereire, Lehren, Herzfeld, Stieglitz, Koenigswarter and other prominent capitalists of Europe, who had the power, had they had the inclination, of placing the Southern Confederacy upon an independent financial basis. Thus it is that the Israelites are made to sustain the odium attaching to an individual simply assumed to belong to that religious body.

And I will say more. We had all regarded with gratitude, pleasure and admiration the noble, friendly stand taken by the liberal press of Germany from the moment of the first firing upon Sumter,

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[25] See numerous references to Emile Erlanger & Co. in John Bigelow's "France and the Confederate Navy." It is difficult to say why Judge Isaacs describes M. Erlanger as a non-Jew; Michel Erlanger was, in fact, very active in Jewish Communal affairs in France, according to his sketch in "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

in vindication of America against the assaults of traitors at home and foes abroad. *That press is guided to an extraordinary* degree by *editors of the Jewish faith.* The Israelites of the press and the political organizations of Germany, such as Riesser, Jellinek, Fischoff, Jacobi, Mannheimer, Meisel,[26] stood up manfully for liberty in their own land in '48, and they and their successors as manfully for liberty in America against the cause of rebellion in '61.

And of European statesmen, who so firm a friend of America, as Fould, the ruling genius of the French ministry? The voice of not a single Israelite in Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland or Italy—and there are many of our faith in the legislative halls of those countries, and among their statesmen and politicians—has been heard in depreciation of the Union, in triumphant prognostication relative to her "impending disruption"[27] and ruin; but all have directed their influence to the foundation of a friendly sentiment in their respective nations for the young republic of the west, established on the commanding basis of universal liberty.

And now, sir, further to illustrate "the extent of the error with regard to occupations of the Jews," I could protract this letter to an indefinite length, were I simply to enumerate the prominent Jewish names that adorn the various departments of science, art and letters.

A reference to simply a few familiar facts will give an idea of the consistency of a profession of the Jewish faith with the discharge of important services of the state. At the London University, there are four professors who are Israelites in religious belief, the chief scientific officer in the British Ordinance Department is of the same faith, as are several prominent members of the Royal Academy, a number of the legal profession, the chief editors of Punch and Temple Bar, two of the "London Times" staff, and other distinguished Englishmen. The present Mayor of Liverpool is an Israelite, as was three or four years ago, the Lord Mayor of London, and in the com-

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[26] See Jewish Encyclopedia biographies of all of these, as also of nearly all persons hereinafter named. As regards Dr. Abraham Jacobi, see his own account of his participation in the revolution of 1848, reprinted by me in *The American Hebrew,* September 26, 1919.

[27] This refers to Edward A. Freeman's works, published in 1863, entitled "History of Federal Government, to the Disruption of the United States" and to the attitude of Gladstone, both of whom were unfriendly toward the Jews; compare "Education of Henry Adams," and Monypenny and Buckle's "Disraeli."

monalty of the British Metropolis are several Aldermen of the Jewish creed. There are four members of Parliament, and perhaps two more by this time. The honors paid to Sir Moses Montefiore illustrate most forcibly the capacity of the Jew for becoming a good and valued citizen. This venerable man has made journeys to Damascus, St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Rome and Morocco in behalf of his oppressed co-religionists, and in his recent visit to the Barbary States was conveyed to Tangier by a French vessel of war, and there was an English frigate in readiness to carry him to other points on the coast, his mission of humanity having been invested with a semi-official character by the British Government.[28]

In France the prominence of the Israelite citizens was manifested most forcibly in '48 when two members of the provisional government, Crémieux and Goudchaux, belonged to their number. At present Mr. Fould is the most influential man in France, while three members of the Pereire family and two other Israelites, all deputies in the French national legislature, attest the influence of French Hebrews. Among Jewish literati of note, are Munk, Frank, Salvador, Cohen, Opert, Levy, Lewald. Michael Levy freres are the most eminent publishers in France. Goldschmidt the astronomer, Wihl the poet, Ernst the violinist, Halevy, Meyerbeer—are names familiar in art and science. The list might be extended to an interminable length.

In Holland the late minister of Justice, M. Godefroi, and his successor on the Supreme bench, M. Asser, are Israelites in faith, while at Leyden University and other Dutch colleges, there are Jewish professors, and among her artists and in the learned professions, there are not a few distinguished men of the same creed. Messrs. Bischoffsheim, Lambert and Levy are members of the Belgian legislative chambers. M. Wiener of Brussels is a celebrated medalist. Count Cavour's confidential adviser, who represented Italy at the Paris Congress, M. Artom, is a distinguished Israelite, as are several members of the Italian legislature, professors at Naples, Bologna, Pisa and other colleges, and the editor of the *Opinione Nationale,* the organ of National freedom. The editor of the principal Turkish gazette is an Israelite. I have spoken of the connection of the Israelites with the press and politics of Germany. Names of Jews distinguished on the Continent for eminence in literature and art,

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[28] See Lucien Wolf's biography of Sir Moses Montefiore; the valuable "Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore," edited by Dr. L. Loewe (1890), and the sketch in "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

are legion. Heine, Saphir, Auerbach, Mosenthal, Meissner, Hartman, Luzzato, Graetz, Jost, Philippson, Zunz, Fuerst, Freund and Bernays, the greatest living authorities on the language of the Romans—in every department of science, art and letters, there are respectable Jewish names, and many of renown.

Throughout continental Europe—at the Universities: at the Breslau University, 90 Israelite students matriculated this year—at the bar, upon the bench, in the editorial profession, in the legislature, in every position of responsibility and trust—you find representatives of the same religious body, their emancipation from the condition of servitude which was theirs until quite recently, being the signal for the illustration that their peculiar religious belief need be no bar to distinction.

Sparing you further details, I send a slip from *The Jewish Messenger* of September, 1863, embracing a record of honors conferred upon European Israelites during the previous year.

From all this, you can readily perceive the extent of your error with regard to occupations of the Israelites, and I forbear further trespass on your attention.

Trusting that I have fully and satisfactorily performed the promise made to you, I am

General,

Very respectfully yours,

M. S. ISAACS.

V—Butler to Isaacs.

HEADQUARTERS 18th ARMY CORPS,
Department of Virginia and North Carolina.

Fortress Monroe, April 9, 1864.

Sir:

I have to apologize to you for not acknowledging the receipt of your letter, containing the very valuable information which you promised me.

I felt that I could not do it properly, until I had examined it with care, and my leisure has not as yet permitted me to give it that examination I could wish. . . . . .

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJ. F. BUTLER,
Major General, Comg.

To
MYER S. ISAACS, ESQ.,
150 Nassau Street,
New York.

APPENDIX IV.

Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of U. S. to Board of Delegates (1860-1).

Place.	Name.	When founded.	No. members, males, females.	Rabbi or chazan.	Officers.	Miscellaneous.
Boston, Mass.	Ohabei Sholom.	1845	123+214.	Rev. Benj. E. Jacobs.	B. Nelson, Pres. S. Reinstein, Vice Pres. L. Anthony, Isaac Adams, G. Philips, S. Stern, B. Hart, } Trustees. A. Louis, Sec.	Free school; 60 pupils; Hebrew and English taught; 2 instructors; 9 sessions per week. Reports three other congregations in same city. Adath Israel; Mischkan Israel; Beth El. 44 births; 7 deaths for year.
Brooklyn, N. Y.	Beth Elohim.	1859	65 males.	N. Gotthold, Reader.	Adolph Baker, Pres. Gabriel Weinberg, Vice Pres. S. Kaufman, Sec. Cornelius Rose, Treas. H. Bernheim, I. Eiseman, Lippman List, Maurice Adler, Moses May, } Trustees.	School; 40 pupils; 2 instructors; 6 sessions per week; another congregation in Western District, reported.
Charleston, S. C.	Beth Elohim.	1791	105 members. 40 males+65 females.	Rev. Abraham Harris.	Major Joshua Lazarus, Pres. Phillip Cohen, Vice Pres. Colimyer Jacobs, Hon. M. C. Mordecai, B. D. Lazarus, Philip Wineman, Aaron I. Moses, } Trustees. Joseph E. Esdra, Sec. & Treas.	School: about 25 pupils; 10 instructors; 1 session; 5 births; 11 deaths for year.
Charleston, S. C.	Sheyreth Israel.	1841	94 members (12 males).	Rev. Henry S. Jacobs.	Sam. Hart, Sr. Pres. Jacob Cohen, Vice Pres. Nathaniel Levin, E. Sommers, Charles H. Moise, } Trustees. S. Valentine, Sec. & Treas. Mrs. E. Minis, Pres. of Sunday School.	Hebrew school; 51 pupils; 4 instructors; 1 session. Reports also a Polish congregation "numbering a few foreigners" and a reform congregation composed of native Israelites; 7 births; 5 deaths; 2 marriages.

Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of U. S. to Board of Delegates (1860-1).—Continued.

Place.	Name.	When founded.	No. members, males, females.	Rabbi or chazan.	Officers.	Miscellaneous.
Chicago, Ill.	Cong. Kehilah Bney Sholem Ubikur Cholim.	1855	36 members.	Rev. W. Weinstein, Reader.	J. H. Henoch, Pres. A. Herzog, Vice Pres. T. Moore, H. E. Marks, T. Platke, S. D. Witkowsky, M. Nelson, } Trustees. Rev. A. Alexander, Sec.	A private Hebrew, English and German educational institute established by Rev. A. Alexander.
Dayton, Ohio.	Cong. Bnai Jeshurun.	1851	30 members.	Rev. M. Wetterhahn.	Abraham Ach, Pres. I. Leon, Vice Pres. M. Wertheimer, Israel Bollwan, B. Wittkowsky, } Trustees. Philip Klopfer, Sec.	Hebrew school; 18 pupils; 6 sessions. Reports a congregation at Piqua, Ohio; 11 births; 2 deaths; 1 marriage.
Fort Wayne, Ind.	Addath Vescholum.	1848	108 males, 77 females.	Rev. I. Rosenthal.	Fredrick Nordlinger, Pres. Henry Redelsheimer, Vice Pres. Victor Jacobson, Treas. M. Epstein, Sec. S. Frieberger, Trustee.	Hebrew school; 34 pupils; 15 hours per week; 14 births; 5 deaths; 2 marriages.
Jackson, Miss.	Beth Israel.	1860	19 males.	.....	H. Goodman, Pres. D. Mayer, Vice Pres. E. Bloom, Treas. A. Adler, Sec.	No school or minister as yet. Nearest congregation is Vicksburg.
Los Angeles, Cal.	Beis Eil.	1860	25 males, 18 females.	.....	B. Cohn, Pres. M. Norton, H. Cohn, } Trustees. H. Behrendt, Sec.	Hebrew Benevolent Society exists.
Louisville, Ky.	Beth Israel.	1857	38 males, 31 females, 92 children.	Rev. Ephraim Wohlgemuth.	Morris D. Levy, Pres. Marks Levy, A. I. H. Bernal, L. Levenson, J. Lowenheim, I. Grauman, I. H. Hernstadt, } Trustees. S. B. Biesenthal, H. Woolf, Sec.	Private school held in building; 18 pupils; 1 instructor; 2 sessions, 5 days in the week. Reports Chebrah. Also another congregation, Adath Israel; Rev. B. H. Gotthelf, Chazan. 12 births; 3 deaths.

Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of U. S. to Board of Delegates (1860-1).—Continued.

Place.	Name.	When founded.	No. members, males, females.	Rabbi or chazan.	Officers.	Miscellaneous.
Madison, Wisc.	Shaare Shomaim.	1856	8 males, 17 females.	.....	Samuel Klauber, Pres. L. Roeder, Sec. M. Kohner, Treas.	1 birth; 1 death. No school or other institution.
Mobile, Ala.	Sharay Shamayim.	1844	94 city and 23 country members.	Rev. I. Epstein.	I. I. Jones, Pres. Is. Goldsmith, Vice Pres. Moses Marx, Treas. L. Ellmann, Sec. F. Reiss, S. Richard, M. Lippman, A. Goldsticker, L. Hafter, M. Levy, E. Weil, } Trustees.	English and Hebrew school to be established, instead of present Hebrew school; 90 pupils. Also have: Mobile Hebrew Relief Ass. and a Ladies Hebrew Benev. Society.
New Orleans, La.	Shaary Tefiloh.	1849	54 members.	Rev. I. Hechinger.	M. Heidenheim, Pres. G. Welch, Vice Pres. I. Hechinger, Sec. H. Ascher, Treas. Isr. Levy, B. Goldenberg, S. Wolf, } Trustees.	Hebrew school; 20 pupils; 1 instructor, 5 times a week; 5 deaths; 5 marriages.
New York City	Ahavath Chesed.	1848	110	Rev. Jacob Tebrich.	Jos. Stein, Pres. Abe Sunsheimer, Vice Pres. Abr. Simon, A. Schwarzkopf, } Trustees. Is. Bloch, Cashier. Laz. Loebl, Sel. Klapper, } Secretaries.	
New York City.	Shaaray Tefila.	1844	191	Rev. S. M. Isaacs.	Geo. Godfrey, Pres. Samuel Wolff, Treas. Edward Josephi, Louis Levy, Maurice Werner, } Trustees.	No Hebrew school; Ladies Benev. Society and Mutual Benefit Burial Society.
New York City.	Shearith Israel.	1681 or earlier.	125 electors (all males).	Rev. J. J. Lyons, Rev. Dr. A. Fischell, Lecturer.	I. L. Seixas, Pres. Asher Kursheedt, Treas. Mortimer Hendricks, Joseph Soria, L. I. Joseph, Jonas W. Phillips, } Trustees. Isaac Phillips, Clerk.	School: Polonies Talmud Torah; 2 sessions. Also Hebrah; Female Hebrew Benevolent Society and Society for the Education of Poor Children and Relief of Indigent Persons. 33 births; 25 deaths; 10 marriages.

Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of U. S. to Board of Delegates (1860-1).—Continued.

Place.	Name.	When founded.	No. members, males, females.	Rabbi or chazan.	Officers.	Miscellaneous.
New York City.	Shaari Zedek.	1840	250 150 males + 100 females.	Rev. S. Seelig. Mr. S. Samulson.	S. D. Moss, Pres. L. Gensler, Vice Pres. E. Jappa, Treas. Charles Cohen, L. Lithauer, I. Woolf, } Trustees. S. Latz, Sec.	Sabbath school; 65 births; 27 deaths; 11 marriages.
New York City	Beth Israel Bikur Cholim.	1855	150 members (147 males).	Rev. Jacob Kantrowitz.	Ellis Joseph, Pres. H. Harris, Vice Pres. Meyer Calish, S. Kreuter, I. Levy, M. Brooks, I. Solomon, M. Hertz, H. Israel, } Trustees. S. Warsower, Sec.	38 births; 36 deaths; 41 marriages.
New York City.	Beth El.	1852	70	Rev. Abraham Lasker. Israel Warinsky.	Jacob Lewis, Pres. Michael Wolfson, Vice Pres. Joseph Wolf Ruhman, Joseph Levy, Juleon Haris, Jacob Harris, } Trustees. B. R. Levy, Sec.	
New York City.	Bikur Cholim w-Kadisha.	1860	36 males, 35 females.	.....	.....	
New York City.	Bnai Israel.	1847	151	Rev. M. R. de Leeuw.	L. Bernhard, Pres. J. Lansberg, M. S. Cohen, Morris I. Leon, Isaac Wertheimer, } Trustees. M. I. Friedlander, Sec.	Hebrew, Free Sunday School and Society Tree of Life (a mutual benefit society).

Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of U. S. to Board of Delegates (1860-1).—Continued.

Place.	Name.	When founded.	No. members, males, females.	Rabbi or chazan.	Officers.	Miscellaneous.
Norfolk, Va.	Norfolk Hebrew & English Literary Institute.	1847	40 35 males, 5 females.	Rev. I. Oppenheim.	M. D. Levy, Pres. L. A. Levyno. C. M. Levy. E. Camp. I. Myers. A. L. Goldsmith. L. Wiesl, Sec.	Hebrew school; 28 pupils; 1 teacher; 4 sessions per week; 14 births; 2 deaths; 2 marriages.
Philadelphia, Pa.	Beth El Emeth.	1857	178 104 males, 74 females.	Rev. Isaac Leeser.	Bernard Spatz, Pres. Herman Van Bitl, Vice Pres. Abraham Kahn, Treas. Theo. J. Florence, Sec. Jacob Aub, David Eger, Henry Goldsmith, Henry Newhouse, Mayer Sternberger, } Trustees.	No Hebrew school connected. Reports other congregations: Mikve Israel: A Hart Rodef Sholem, S. Adler, Polish Beth Israel, Bnai Israel (Netherland), Keneseth Israel (Reform), Adath Jeshurun (German), 25 births; 8 deaths; 8 marriages.
Plaquemine, La.	.....	1857	15 males, 11 females.	.....	Samuel Kohn, Pres. David Levy, Sec.	No school.
Providence, R. I.	Sons of Israel.	1855	18 males, 18 females.	Lazarus Kantrowitz.	Jos. Stern, Pres. E. Myer, Vice Pres. H. Soloman, H. Green, Isaac Fish, } Trustees. A. Stern, Sec.	No school; 3 births; no deaths.
Quincy, Ill.	K. K. Bnai Avrohum.	1856	26 married, all married but three.	Rev. Solomon Albu, chazan, lecturer & teacher.	M. S. Marks, Pres. S. J. Lesem, Treas. I. Schwimmer, Warden. M. I. Benjamin, Sec. D. Herman, Z. Hirsh, M. Jacobs, } Trustees.	School; also have Ladies' Benevolent Society. No other congregation nearer than Chicago or St. Louis.
Richmond, Va.	House of Peace.	1791	128 members, 52 contributing (67 males, 61 females).	Geo. Jacobs, officiating pro tem.	Jacob A. Levy, Pres. Wm. Thalheimer, Vice Pres. Louis Hyman, Treas. E. I. Levy, Sec. Isaac Schriver, H. J. Calisher, E. Goldsmith, M. Harris, N. Ezekiel, } Board of Managers.	Class Sundays for Hebrew and religious instruction, under Mr. Jacobs supervision free—12 pupils; President empowered to draw on the Treasurer to relieve distress. Two other congregations reported. "House of Love," Wm. Fleishman, President; "Keneseth Israel," A. Henry, President. 9 births; no deaths; 1 marriage.

Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of U. S. to Board of Delegates (1860-1).—Continued.

Place.	Name.	When founded.	No. members, males, females.	Rabbi or chazan.	Officers.	Miscellaneous.
Richmond, Va.	Keneseth Israel.	1857	38 males, 1 female.	Rev. M. L. Rosenberg.	A. Henry, Pres. W. Jacobs, Vice Pres. E. Ellis, Treas. B. Becher, N. A. Cohn, P. Becher, } Trustees. J. Peyser, Sec.	School; 12 pupils; 10 births; 5 deaths; 1 marriage.
Savannah, Ga.	Mikwah Israel.	1733	14 males (+97 seatholders, 73 females, 24 males).	Rev. Isaac Rosenfeld.	Sol. Cohen, Pres. I. Cohen, M. S. Cohen, I. M. Solomons, A. Einstein, S. Berg, A. Minis, } Trustees. M. S. Cohen, Sec.	School under superintendency of Mrs. Solomon Cohen; 65-70 pupils; 3 charitable societies: Hebrew Benevolent Society; Ladies' Hebrew Benev. Society; German Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society. 21 births; 3 deaths; 5 marriages.
Schenectady, N. Y.	Shaaray Shamayim.	1857	12 members+30 children.	Louis Newstadt, chazan & teacher.	P. Levi, Pres. S. Scelig, J. Levi, H. Levi, } Trustees. D. Marks, Sec.	School; 14 pupils; 5 sessions; Albany and Troy 3 nearest congregations; 1 death; 2 marriages.
Shreveport, La.	Har Elohim.	....	29 regular members (75 males, 56 females).	Dr. S. Sarner.	M. Bear, Pres. F. Cahn, A. Weinstock, L. Neuburger, H. Levy, H. Dreifus, } Trustees. N. Seligman, Sec.	A school; 21 pupils; Charitable Society; 4 births; 4 deaths; no marriages.
St. Louis, Mo.	United Hebrew Cong.	1839	70 members.	Rev. I. Ritteman.	A. I. Latz, Pres. Is. Davis, Treas. L. Woolf, I. Sternberg, H. Lyons, S. Drukker, L. Rich, } Trustees. John Myers, Sec.	School; daily sessions; 35 pupils. Also downtown school; Meyer Friede, Pres. 19 births; 5 deaths; 8 marriages.

Statistical Report of Jewish Congregations of U. S. to Board of Delegates (1860-1).—Continued.

Place.	Name.	When founded.	No. members, males, females.	Rabbi or chazan.	Officers.	Miscellaneous.
Sonora and Columbia, Cal.	Sonora and Columbia Hebrew Benev. Society.	1851	40	.....	M. Hanauer, Pres. H. Joseph, Treas. H. Strauss, Sec. Is. Levy, Trustee in Columbia. H. Marcuse, M. Reeb, } Sonora.	6 births; 4 deaths; 3 marriages. Society includes stragglers from neighboring camps.
Stockton, Cal.	Ryhim Ahavim.	1855	26 (22 males, 22 females).	.....	L. Cohn, Pres. M. Kierski, Treas. D. Kalisher, I. A. Marks, } Trustees. W. Kierski, Sec.	No school; 4 births; 1 death; 3 marriages.
Utica, N. Y.	Adas Jeshurun.	1850	50 (100 males, 40 females.)	Rev. Lewis Bloomgarten.	M. Friedman, Pres. F. Niedlander, L. Phillips, } Trustees. L. M. Friedman, Sec.	Hebrew school; 30 pupils; 15 births; 5 deaths.
Utica, N. Y.	Beth El.	1858	30	Rev. E. Rosengarten, minister.	I. Workman, Pres. A. Cohen, C. Rosenthal, } Trustees. C. Rosenthal, Sec.	Hebrew school; 20 pupils; 8 births; 2 deaths; 1 marriage. Report Chebra Bichu Hollom with 28 members.

THE JEWS OF NORTH CAROLINA PRIOR TO 1800.

By Leon Huhner, A. M., LL. B.

North Carolina formed part of a vast domain granted in 1663 by Charles II to eight of his courtiers, among whom were Berkeley, Carteret and Lord Ashley Cooper, the last-named subsequently the famous Earl of Shaftesbury. By virtue of their charter these men became the lords proprietors with power to settle the country, build towns, make war and execute treaties, although the ultimate sovereignty remained in the crown.

The lords proprietors dreamed of vast wealth that would accrue from their possessions, and at once ordered their agent to get settlers.[1] In a "Declaration and Proposealls issued August 25th, 1665," they offered settlers

> in as ample manner as they might desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious or spiritual things.[2]

They next employed John Locke, the famous philosopher, to draft a constitution and form of government for the colony, which he accordingly did, and which was signed in 1669.[3]

Locke's constitution expressly states that as Jews, heathens and other dissenters might be induced to settle the country,

> any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion shall constitute a church or profession.

There were also express prohibitions against disturbing any kind of religious assembly, or using reproachful or abusive

[1] George Bancroft, "History of the United States," New York, 1886, vol. i, pp. 408-9.

[2] Bancroft Collection of MSS. in New York Public Library (South Carolina Papers), vol. ii, p. 1, [State Paper Office B. J.].

[3] Bancroft, *supra*, pp. 415-16.

language against any religion, or molesting or persecuting another for his opinion or his way of worship.[4]

A detailed analysis of this subject was presented by the present writer in a paper read before this society some years ago, and I shall, therefore, not go into further detail here.[5] Sir John Yeamans, who was appointed governor about 1665, brought immigrants from Barbados in the autumn of that year, and as Barbados at the time had a large Jewish population [6] it is more than likely that a number of Jews accompanied Yeamans, particularly as trade between Barbados and Carolina soon became considerable. In 1671 Yeamans brought additional settlers from the West Indies.[7]

While liberty of conscience was granted to Jews in the new colony, this did not carry with it either the right to vote or the right to hold office. It merely guaranteed the right to worship, and accordingly, in connection with an election held in 1702-1703, we find a protest against the returns, reciting that Jews, strangers, sailors, servants, negroes and almost every Frenchman in Craven and Berkeley counties came down to elect and their votes were taken.[8] Craven county is in North Carolina while Berkeley county is in South Carolina.

[4] "The First Set of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina as compiled by Mr. John Locke," reprinted in B. R. Carroll's "Historical Collections," New York, 1836, vol. ii, 385 f, articles ci to cvi. "The State Records of North Carolina," collected and edited by Walter Clark, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, 1895-1905, vol. xxv, p. 134; "Colonial Records of North Carolina," collected and edited by William L. Saunders, Secretary of State, Raleigh, 1886–1890, vol. i, p. 203.

[5] Leon Huhner in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* no. 12, pp. 39-61.

[6] Leon Huhner, *supra,* p. 40, and authorities there cited.

[7] Bancroft, *supra,* pp. 411-12.

[8] J. Oldmixon, "A History of Carolina," London, 1708, reprinted in Carroll, *supra,* p. 429; "The Humble Address of the Right Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, relating to the Province of Carolina, presented to Queen Anne, March 13, 1705," in "Colonial Records," *supra,* p. 635.

All Carolina became a royal province in 1729, and was then divided into North and South Carolina. The southern colony increased and prospered far more rapidly, and its towns, like Charlestown, soon became important commercially. It was but natural, therefore, to find Jews in considerable numbers in South Carolina in colonial and revolutionary times, whereas the Jewish population of North Carolina remained extremely small, and in general the northern colony, for many years, was but sparsely settled.

No attempt has been made heretofore by any writer on American Jewish history to give a sketch of Jews in early North Carolina, because it was generally assumed that there were none. In fact, the editor of "A Century of Population Growth," published by the United States Bureau of Census in 1909, an elaborate treatise on the subject of nationality, in connection with the census of 1790, came to the conclusion that there was but one Jew in North Carolina in that year.[9] While he admits that this conclusion is a guess, he nevertheless claims that it is based on such scientific deductions as to be reasonably accurate. Such guesses however have been found time and again to be absolutely unreliable when tested by actual research.

Isaac Harby, writing in *The North American Review* in 1826, estimated the Jewish population of North Carolina at that time at about 400.[10]

In preparing the present paper the writer has examined practically all available printed material on the subject, carefully going through the thirty volumes of colonial and state records published by the state, including the census of 1790. While it must be admitted that there was no great Jewish population in North Carolina during colonial and revolutionary times, it was nevertheless appreciable. This paucity in numbers may be partly accounted for by the fact that the

[9] Max J. Kohler, in *Publications, supra,* No. 19, p. 178.
[10] P. 73.

colony was less important commercially and less liberal politically than other colonies to which Jews were naturally attracted.

It is true that liberty of worship was never interfered with in North Carolina during the entire colonial period, and that the Declaration of Rights adopted in 1776 expressly set forth

> that all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience,[11]

but after all it was toleration only and not religious liberty in its fullest sense. In the early days none but members of the Church of England could hold office, and the Act of 1703 expressly required members of the Assembly to conform to the Church of England in worship.[12] When in 1760 a statute as to some minor office was passed, merely requiring an oath that the incumbent would not oppose the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as by law established, the Bishop of London at once wrote to the House of Lords on the subject, calling attention to the fact "that such declaration could be made by any Quaker, Jew or Pagan," and that the defect should be immediately remedied; and remedied it was.[13] Later on, statutes were passed for the benefit of Quakers and other sects, but no such liberality was shown toward Catholics or Jews, and even the Revolution brought no change in that respect. In fact, Catholic emancipation came only in 1835, while Jewish disabilities continued down to 1868.[14]

In a paper presented some years ago before this society on the struggle for religious liberty in North Carolina, I called attention to the interesting career of Jacob Henry, a Jew, who was finally permitted to take his seat as the member of the Assembly to which he had been elected in 1810. This concession was based in part on the fiction that the constitutional

[11] Sec. xix; "State Records," *supra,* vol. xxiii, p. 978.
[12] "State Records," *supra,* vol. xxv, pp. 151, 365.
[13] "Colonial Records," *supra,* pp. 713-15.
[14] Leon Huhner in *Publications, supra,* No. 16, pp. 67-8.

prohibition, that no one who shall deny the truth of the Protestant religion shall hold office in the state, did not apply to members of the Assembly, as these made the laws and were not office-holders under them.[15]

The earliest name in North Carolina records, of interest to us, is that of Aaron Moses who appears as a witness to a will in 1740.[16] In 1750 we run across a petition to the council by David David for a grant of 180 acres of land at New Hanover.[17] His petition was granted, and in 1752 David David appears on the muster roll of the Wilmington County militia in Captain Merrick's company.[18]

In the report of the committee on public claims meeting at Edenton, November, 1758, one Jacob Franks was allowed a claim of £20 proclamation money for himself and one man in looking after Fort Dobbs,[19] and in the same year Jacob Franks, mentioned as of Rowan County, was allowed a claim of £7 for provisions for the Indians.[20] It may well be that this man was in some way connected with the famous Franks family of Philadelphia.

In 1759 and 1760 the colonial records give us the name of Mr. Laney, expressly described as a Jew, who came to America about that time, and formed a partnership with a Mr. Heryon of Cabin Point, N. C.[21] This partnership continued for two years, when it ended in a violent quarrel. Laney continued to reside in the colony and appears repeatedly in colonial records down to 1784, when he was called as a witness against Heryon in a proceeding brought by the latter against Edward Clay, a member of the North Carolina legislature. In that proceeding Mr. Laney is also mentioned as a Jew.[22] Joseph

[15] Leon Huhner, *Ibid.*, pp. 37-71.
[16] "Abstract of North Carolina Wills," Raleigh, 1910, p. 351.
[17] "Colonial Records," *supra,* vol. iv, p. 1039.
[18] "State Records," *supra,* vol. xxii, p. 384.
[19] "Colonial Records," *supra,* vol. v, p. 977.
[20] "Colonial Records," *supra,* p. 980.
[21] "State Records," *supra,* vol. xix, pp. 784, 785.
[22] *Ibid.*

Laney appears during the Revolutionary period in connection with furnishing provisions for the army.[23] In 1768, William Levy of Orange County is noted among the petitioners to the governor, setting forth a list of grievances.[24] About 1775 we find Barnard and Michael Gratz of Philadelphia interested in land ventures in North Carolina.[25]

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Jews of the southern colonies figure repeatedly on the patriot side. In a paper presented by the present writer before this society some years ago, I gave a sketch of the distinguished career of Francis Salvador of South Carolina, whose name was theretofore unknown to writers of American Jewish history.[26] Salvador was a Jew and one of the most ardent and prominent advocates of the revolutionary cause at the commencement of the struggle. He was a member of the South Carolina Assembly and also of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina until his death, which occurred in the early days of the Revolution.[27]

Curiously enough his name figures in the records of North Carolina also. In a rare work entitled "Narrative of Colonel David Fanning, a Tory in the Revolutionary War, giving an Account of his Adventures in North Carolina from 1775 to 1783," occurs the following under date of July, 1775:

> We called musters in various counties, and captains presented two papers for the inhabitants to sign, one to see who were friends of the King and Government, and the other to see who would join the rebellion.

Fanning relates how he presented the two papers, and that 118 signed in favor of the king. His narrative then continues:

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[23] *Ibid.*, vol. xxii, p. 1014.

[24] "Colonial Records," *supra*, vol. vii, p. 733.

[25] "B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754–1798. Papers selected and edited by William Vincent Byars, Jefferson City, Mo., 1916.

[26] Leon Huhner in *Publications, supra*, No. 9, pp. 107-22.

[27] *Ibid.*

There were several advertisements set up in every part of said district that there was a very great Presbyterian minister to call at the different places to preach and baptize children, ... But at the time appointed, instead of meeting a minister, we all went to meet two Jews by name of Silvedoor and Rapely, and after making many speeches in favor of the rebellion and used all their endeavors to delude the people away, at last presented rebellion papers to see who would sign them. They were severely reprimanded by Henry O'Neil and many others. It came so high that they had much adue to get off with their lives. The rebels then found that we were fully determined to oppose them.[28]

The Rapely above referred to was Richard A. Rapely, Salvador's most intimate friend, who had come from England to manage his estate in America, even prior to the latter's arrival.[29]

The same narrative also mentions a Colonel Isaacs who ravaged the whole settlement and burnt and destroyed a number of houses belonging to friends of the Government.

Two captains in each company, [Fanning relates,] were appointed by Colonel Isaacs on his leaving Cox's Mill to keep the friends of government down, and were going with their men continually through the country.[30]

There is nothing, however, to make certain whether Colonel Isaacs was a Jew. In April, 1777, Governor Josiah Martin writing to Lord Germain mentioned hearing that some near connections of Mr. Sampson had taken open and violent parts in rebellion.[31]

Among those who took the oath of allegiance to the state in 1778 appeared the name of Jacob Holstein,[32] and in a letter from Governor Caswell of North Carolina to the clothier general of the continental troops at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, March, 1778, the former mentions sending Isaac Aaron with leather.[33] In the report of the clothing committee, October,

[28] "State Records," *supra,* vol. xxii, pp. 182-3.
[29] Leon Huhner, *Publications, supra,* No. 9, p. 111.
[30] "State Records," *supra,* pp. 40, 182.
[31] *Ibid.,* vol. xi, p. 715.
[32] *Ibid.,* vol. xxii, p. 179.
[33] *Ibid.,* vol. xiii, p. 66.

1780, mention was made of sending 18 yards of cloth to Dr. Aaron of North Carolina.[34] Joseph Laney, heretofore mentioned as a Jewish settler in 1759, was allowed a claim of £7 for furnishing beef to the American army in 1779.[35] Among those wounded at the battle of Camden in 1780, appears Colonel Isaacs of North Carolina[36] and in the settlement of the army accounts of the state in 1784 we find allowed claims of Isaac Solomon,[37] Abraham Moses[38] and Raymond Solomons.[39] After the battle of Camden a number of soldiers were taken prisoners by the British and put on board the prison ship *Torbay* in Charlestown harbor. Many of these prisoners were from North Carolina. Under date of May 18, 1781, a joint letter was written by these prisoners enclosing a threatening notice which the British commandant had circulated among them. The letter concluded:

> Should it fall to the lot of all or any of us to be made victims agreeable to the menaces therein contained, we have only to regret that our blood cannot be disposed of more to the advancement of the glorious cause to which we have adhered.

Among its signers were Jacobs Cohen, Jacob Henry, probably the man who subsequently became the first Jewish member of the North Carolina Assembly, and Philip Meyers.[40]

On a list of revolutionary soldiers of the tenth regiment of the North Carolina line, appear William Solomon, private

[34] *Ibid.*, vol. xiv, p. 716.

[35] *Ibid.*, vol. xxii, p. 1014.

[36] B. F. Heitman, "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army," p. 238.

[37] "State Records," *supra*, vol. xvii, p. 250.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 230; vol. xvi, p. 1118.

[39] *Ibid.*, vol. xvii, p. 250.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 1045. A ms. copy of this letter is in the possession of the New York Public Library, Emmet Collection, No. 15670. American War. 1776–82, vol. ii, Leslie Papers. Gibbes, "Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1781-2," pp. 74-5; Leon Huhner in *Publications, supra*, No. 12, p. 55; *Idem.*, in *Publications, supra*, No. 16, p. 46.

in Sharp's company, who enlisted May 21, 1781,[41] Abraham Moses, private, enlisted May, 1781,[42] Lazarus Solomon, private, in Rhodes' company, enlisted April 10, 1781,[43] and Isaac Sampson, private, in Brevard's company, enlisted May, 1781.[44] The last-named also appears among the Revolutionary pensioners of North Carolina as late as 1835.[45] The name of Moses Stern is found on a roll of the North Carolina battalion, having enlisted for three years in February, 1777.[46] Reënlisting in 1781 he received a bounty of $100.[47]

In 1781 Simon Nathan was deputy inspector general of Masonic lodges for North Carolina,[48] and Abraham Isaacs, another Jew, was prominent in Masonry at Wilmington in 1798.[49] Jews figure also in the correspondence of prominent men of the State. Thus, in a letter written by Hon. Benjamin Hawkins to Governor Abner Nash of North Carolina, from Philadelphia, March 11, 1783, Hawkins mentioned having taken up Governor Nash's draft with Haym Salomon,[50] and in a letter written by Hon. Richard D. Spaight to Governor Martin, mention was made of the ratification of the treaty with England and

> the mode adopted by Congress for forwarding those dispatches to our Commissioners in Paris for exchange,

especially detailing the mission of Lieutenant Colonel Franks

[41] "State Records," *supra,* vol. xvi, p. 1163.

[42] *Ibid.,* p. 1118; vol. xvii, p. 230.

[43] *Ibid.,* vol. xvi, p. 1163.

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 1164.

[45] "Report from the Secretary of War in relation to the Pension Establishment," Washington, 1835; "State Records," *supra,* vol. xvii, p. 84.

[46] "State Records," vol. xv, p. 722.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 749.

[48] S. Oppenheim, in *Publications, supra,* No. 19, p. 42.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] "State Records," *supra,* vol. xvi, p. 943.

in that connection.[51] In another letter, the same writer mentioned having received a letter from Colonel Franks of his arrival in England.[52]

Jacob Mordecai appears to have settled in North Carolina about 1790 and founded a well-known school or seminary which he conducted for a number of years.[53] He was master of the Masonic lodge at Warrenton from 1797 to 1799 [54] and his son subsequently became a prominent lawyer at Raleigh.[55] An interesting sketch of Jacob Mordecai was presented before this society by Gratz Mordecai.[56]

The census of North Carolina for 1790 contained quite a number of names of Jews, as well as many which suggest a Jewish origin. There were, for instance, a great many Goodmans, Hays, Hendricks, Phillips, Jacobs and Simpsons, with Biblical first names,[57] as Sarah, Lazarus and Solomon Hays,[58] Tobias and Joseph Hendricks,[59] Elias Coan of Guilford County,[60] Simon Cohon and family of Edgecombe County,[61] Levi Cone of Martin County,[62] Isaac Cowin of Rowan County,[63] Barnes Solomon, Goodwin Solomon, Isham Solomon and James, John and William Solomon.[64] But passing over these, we find the following: Isaac Aaron with his family of five,

[51] *Ibid.*, vol. xvii, p. 18; the Colonel referred to is the well-known David S. Franks, belonging to the prominent Jewish family of that name.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[53] Gratz Mordecai, in *Publications, supra,* No. 6, pp. 39-48.

[54] S. Oppenheim, in *Publications, supra,* p. 74.

[55] Gratz Mordecai, *supra.*

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] "State Records," *supra,* vol. xxvi, Index.

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 1266, 1033, 660, 842.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 937.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 584.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 517.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 727, 735.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 1004.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 728, 552, 519, 534.

residing in Halifax County;[65] Ephraim Emanuel and family of three,[66] Isaac Emanuel and family,[67] Jesse Emanuel and family of six,[68] Michael Emanuel and Levi Emanuel with his family of five, all residents of Sampson County;[69] Joseph Franks in Wake County,[70] Sarah Franks in Brunswick County;[71] Benjamin, Nathan and Nathaniel Gabriel in Carteret County;[72] Rachel Isaacs and family in Wilkes County;[73] Jesse Israel and Joseph, Michael, Nancy and Solomon Israel, all in Wilkes County;[74] Alexander Levi and family, as well as Henry Levi and family, both of Pitt County;[75] Eleazar Levi and family as well as Jacob Levi and family, both of New Hanover county;[76] Abraham, David, Jacob, Joshua and Samuel Moses;[77] Harmon Myars and Jacob Myars;[78] and Lazarus Solomons and his family of seven, in Nash County.[79]

Somewhat later we meet with a number of Jews at Wilmington, the most prominent of whom were Aaron Lazarus, born in 1777, who became a director of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad;[80] Abraham Isaacs, a prominent Mason in 1798;[81]

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 608.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 1077.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 1040.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 1077.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 1091.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 1181.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 316.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 869.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 1244.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 1243, 1221, 1195.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 908.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 826.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 548, 253, 698, 937, 246, 249.
[78] *Ibid.*, Index.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 816.
[80] Isaac Markens, "The Hebrews in America," p. 113.
[81] S. Oppenheim, in *Publications, supra,* p. 75.

Jacob Levy who married Maria Lopez, a daughter of Aaron Lopez, in Newport in 1805;[82] Aaron Rivera, related to the well-known Newport family;[83] and Lewis Gomez who died at Wilmington in 1827.[84]

The present paper represents only pioneer work. Scarcely any of the North Carolina towns or counties have ever published their local histories, and this necessarily restricts research. When such local records are finally made available, it is more than likely that the careers of quite a number of additional Jewish settlers will be brought to light.

[82] *Publications, supra,* No. 27, pp. 74, 104; Rosalie S. Phillips, in *Publications, supra,* No. 18, p. 111.

[83] "The Jewish Encyclopedia," *s. v.,* Rivera.

[84] *Publications, supra,* No. 27, p. 294.

NOTES.

Additions to "Calendar of American Jewish Cases."[1]

1917—New Jersey. Goldstein *v.* Goldstein, 87 New Jersey Equity, 601 (Court of Errors and Appeals); *s. c.*, 101 Atlantic, 249.

Here an orthodox Jewish betrothal agreement and marriage certificate were construed in favor of the creation of a trust in the husband for the benefit of his wife and children. The marriage articles are enforcible as a trust. Reversing *s. p.*, 86 New Jersey Equity, 351; 98 Atlantic, 835 (1916).

1918—New York. People *v.* Atlas, 183 Appellate Division, 595.

The penal statute prohibiting the fraudulent labeling as *kosher* of food products is constitutional. See Matter of Vad Hakashras of Borough Park, Inc., *The New York Law Journal*, August 9, 1922, where May, *J.*, in Supreme Court, Kings County, refused to approve the proposed membership corporation having for its object the administration of this statute. He held that the constituted authorities can deal adequately with this situation and fully protect the community. In Satz *v.* Sherman *et als.*, unreported (1923), the United States Court, statutory, for New York, held that this law was not in contravention of the United States Constitution.

1918—New York. Shilman *v.* Shilman, *The New York Law Journal*, December 12, 1918. (Supreme Court, Bronx County, Tierney, *J.*)

A rabbinical divorce, granted in this state, is invalid. In this case the court quotes the form of a *get*. To the same effect: Lifshitz *v.* Lifshitz, *ibid.*, January 28, 1919, p. 1386, Supreme Court, Kings County, Fawcett, *J.*; Bratburd *v.* Bratburd, *ibid.*, April 4, 1921, in the same forum, Benedict, *J.* Prince *v.* Prince, 18 South Carolina Equity (1 Richardson), 282 (1845) holds that a ceremony performed in England between Jews and according to the Hebrew law constitutes a valid marriage.

The New York civil rights statute has withstood the test of judicial interpretation. Sections 40 and 41 thereof were amended in 1918. See People *v.* King, 110 New York, 418 (1888), in which at p. 428, Andrews, *J.*, used the following language:

. . . . In the judgment of the legislature the public had an interest to prevent race discrimination between citizens, on the part of persons maintaining places of public amusement, and the *quasi* public use to which the owner of such a place devoted his property, gives the legislature a right to interfere. If the defendant, instead of basing his exclusion of a class of citizens upon color, had made a rule excluding all Germans, or all Irishmen, or all Jews, the law as applied to such a case would have seemed entirely

[1] See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 12, p. 87 *et seq.*; No. 13, p. 137 *et seq.*; No. 19, p. 167 *et seq.*; No. 25, p. 134 *et seq.*; No. 26, p. 259 *et seq.*

reasonable. . . . . The statute does not interfere with private entertainments or prevent persons not engaged in the business of keeping a place of public amusement, from regulating admission to social, public or private entertainments given by them as they may deem best, nor does it seek to compel social equality. It was, we think, a valid exercise of the police power of the state over a subject within the cognizance of the legislature.

See the Osborn Case, 2 Barnard. (England), 138 (1732); see Johnson *v.* Auburn, etc., Railroad, 222 New York, 493 (1918); McKaine *v.* Drake Business School, Inc., 107 Miscellaneous (New York), 241 (1919). See *The Home News* (New York), March 16, 1919, Harlem edition, p. 10, where a saloonkeeper, refusing a drink to a Jew because of this fact, was held to the latter in the statutory penalty, in the Municipal Court, Manhattan, 8th District, Levy, *J.*

1919—Federal. Skuy *v.* United States, 261 Federal, 316 (United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit).

The higher court reversed the verdict of the jury in the court below against the defendant, here the appellant, because the United States attorney prosecuting had made an improper argument to the jury, addressed to the circumstance that the defendant and some witnesses were Jews. See, Dearborn Publishing Company *v.* Fitzgerald, 271 Federal, 479 (1921), where the United States Court for Ohio held that a publication of articles in a journal, attacking Jews as a race, is not within the prohibitory mandate of a city ordinance which forbids the sale of journals containing indecent, obscene or scandalous articles.

1919—New York. Schachter *v.* Schachter, 109 Miscellaneous, 152.

Cropsey, *J.*, in the Kings County Supreme Court, here held that the fact that the husband promised the wife, to induce her to consent to a civil ceremony of marriage, subsequently to consummate a Jewish religious ceremony, does not constitute fraud for which the marriage by the civil ceremony may be annulled. See Fero *v.* Fero, 62 Appellate Division, 470 (1901); Berry *v.* Berry, 130 *ibid.*, 53 (1909); Wood *v.* Baker, 43 Miscellaneous, 310 (1904); Allerton *v.* Allerton, 104 *ibid.*, 627 (1919); Marone *v.* Marone, 105 *ibid.*, 371 (1918); Magee *v.* Nealon, 108 *ibid.*, 396 (1919): all New York cases. To the contrary effect as that reached in the principal case see Rubinson *v.* Rubinson, 110 *ibid.*, 114 (1920), decided by Cohalan, *J.*, in the Supreme Court, New York County; Feinman (Urban) *v.* Feinman, *The New York Law Journal,* December 5, 1924, Benedict, *J.* (Kings County).

1919—New York. Matter of Goldberg, *The New York Law Journal,* September 2, 1919. (New York County Surrogates' Court, Fowler, *S.*)

Held, that a gift, in this case for the benefit of the Morris Goldberg and Rachel Goldberg Home for Jewish Female Minors, a corporation to be created in consonance with the expressions of the will of the testator, in order that it may vest as a charitable use, must be more than a mere donation to a corporation to be formed for charitable purposes.

1920—New York. Matter of Hager (Muskatenbluth), *The New York Law Journal,* November 18, 1920, p. 584. (County Court, Queens County, Humphrey, *J.*)

The court here permitted the disinterment of a body from a grave in a Jewish cemetery on the ground that the action fell within the provisions

of the Jewish law of disinterment, as interpreted by A. S. Freidus. A similar result was reached in the Supreme Court, New York County, *ibid.*, December 8, 1921, by Lydon, *J.* See, also, Matter of Berezoff, 166 Appellate Division, 903 (1914), a memorandum decision of the New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division, Second Department.

1920—New York. People *v.* Schnitzer *et als., The New York Law Journal,* June 17, 1920. (City Magistrates' Court, New York City, Simpson, *C. M.*)

A theatrical performance on Sunday, April 18, at the Jewish Art Theatre, New York, the proceeds of which enured to the benefit of the fund for the relief of Jewish war sufferers, especially such of them as resided in the town of Korostiv, Russia, held, not to violate the Sunday law of the state.

For a man to use the Sabbath to help relieve the suffering and destitution of humanity, caused by the greatest cataclysm in the history of the world, he is to be commended, not punished.

1921—Federal. United States *v.* Heitler *et al.,* 274 Federal, 401 (District Court, Illinois).

Where the prosecutor in this trial for a criminal conspiracy to violate the national prohibition law, referred to the defendant as like Shylock, playing a part, seeking to impress the jury with his humility, etc., which the latter's attorney criticized as an appeal to prejudice based on the fact that defendant was a Jew, and the court below limited the remark as not bearing on race or religion, in which limitation the prosecutor concurred, the appellate tribunal will deny a motion for a new trial since the court below had merely to determine whether there was any evidence to justify the remark. This the latter did and, in addition, instructed the jury to disregard the remark since the question of race and religion had been imported into it.

1921—New York. Watkins *v.* Watkins, 197 Appellate Division, 489.

Authority to annul a marriage exists where a fraudulent representation is made by the husband as to his intention concerning his future action on a material matter. The husband refused to go through with an orthodox Jewish ceremony pursuant to his agreement to do so, said agreement having been made by him without intent to carry it out. See Chavias *v.* Chavias, 194 Appellate Division, 904 (1920). See Rozsa *v.* Rozsa, 117 Miscellaneous (New York), 728 (1922), a decision by Cohalan, *J.*, holding in accord with the principal case.

1921—New York. Shaffer *v.* Temple Beth Emeth of Flatbush, 198 Appellate Division, 607.

The word "church" in a restrictive covenant includes a synagogue and even one in the nature of a community centre. Therefore, a restrictive covenant precluding the erection on a specified parcel of land of any building other than a single house for one family on a single plot, or a church, will not be so construed as to prevent the erection of a synagogue and community centre occupying more than one plot.

1921—New York. Goldberg *v.* Kletz, 199 Appellate Division, 186.

Speaking in a foreign language, instantly Yiddish, publicly, held, not to subject the person so speaking to arrest unless his purpose or the character of his words was violative of the peace. Hence the complaint in a suit for damages for false imprisonment states a cause of action. See State *v.* Gross, 96 New Jersey Law, 401; *s. c.*, 115 Atlantic, 743 (1921), where the court held that mere loudness of language, here Yiddish, does not constitute the offense of disorderly conduct.

1921—New York. Friezner *v.* Friezner, *The New York Law Journal*, January 2, 1921. (Supreme Court, New York County, Special Term, Part VI, Lydon, *J.*)

It would seem that the orthodox ceremony of *chalitza* (Deuteronomy xxv, 5-10) is a material fact, vital to the question whether a marriage may be annulled on the ground of fraud. This decision turned solely on a demurrer to the complaint and expressly reserved the principal issue until the actual trial of the suit.

1921—North Carolina. Munick *v.* City of Durham, 181 North Carolina, 188; *s. c.*, 106 Southeastern, 665.

The appellant, who attempted to pay a water bill with fifty pennies, was cursed and violently assaulted by the city's manager. The only provocation for the assault, to be inferred from the language used by the water superintendent, was that the payor was a Jew. The nonsuit was reversed.

Chief Justice Clark in the opinion said:

There is no explanation of the conduct of the company's superintendent, and the only provocation given which we can infer from the language used by Bolton is the fact that the plaintiff was a Jew. He made no other charge. The treatment which the plaintiff received is paralleled by that which is portrayed by Scott in Ivanhoe in the treatment of Isaac of York seven centuries ago, and by Shakespeare as meted out to Jews in the Merchant of Venice, also centuries ago. The world has long outlived this treatment of an historic race, except, perhaps, in "darkest Russia" when under the Czars. When Disraeli, later Prime Minister of the British Empire, was reproached in Parliament for being a Jew, he made the memorable reply, "When the ancestors of the right honorable gentleman were painted savages roaming naked in the forests of Germany, my ancestors were princes in Israel and high priests in the temple of Solomon."

Every voter, every witness, and every official takes an oath upon a sacred book, every sentence and word in which was written by a Jew. When the Savior was incarnated after the flesh He was of the tribe of Judah, and His mother, whom a great church holds immaculate, if not divine, has her name borne by millions throughout the civilized world. Whatever the shortcomings of any individual, it is strange that in this day of enlightenment such prejudices as were shown in this case should survive against the race to which the plaintiff belongs.

1922—New York. Gollob *v.* Congregation Ohel Moishe Chevra Tehilim, 119 Miscellaneous, 346.

A synagogue is not a charitable corporation. Thus, a suit in tort against a synagogue to recover damages for personal injuries arising through the existence of a defectively lighted stairway therein will not be dismissed by reason of the defendant being a charitable corporation, for the negligent acts of the servants of which the plaintiff, a beneficiary thereof, may not hold the corporation liable. The contrary is the case here.

1923—New York. People *v.* Baylinson, *The New York Law Journal,* March 22, 1923. (City Magistrates' Court, Ryttenberg, *C. M.*)

In the course of his opinion, dealing with the question whether the exhibition of what is charged and found to be a sacrilegious picture disturbs the public peace, the court said *obiter:*

. . . . the Christian religion is regarded as a part of the common law of the land, . . . ,

See N. Mosessohn, in *The Jewish Tribune,* April 6, 1923, p. 8 *et seq.,* where the court's statement is attacked and refuted for the author's purpose. The court's statement, within its narrow limits, is quite correct.

1924—New York. Chertok *v.* Chertok, 208 Appellate Division, 161.

A rabbinical divorce obtained in this state is void, and the fact that it was thereafter perfected in Russia, the domicile of the husband's first wife, according to the rabbinical laws prevailing there, will not validate the *get* under the law of New York, *non constat* the law of Russia recognizes it. See the remarks of Dike, *J.,* in Sorenson *v.* Sorenson, 202 New York Supplement (Supreme Court, Kings County) 620 (1924) at pp. 622, 623. See Erlanger *v.* Erlanger, 173 Appellate Division, 767 (1916); Saperstone *v.* Saperstone, 73 Miscellaneous, 631 (1911).

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

EARLY JEWS IN BOSTON.

Our knowledge of the early Jews in Boston, Mass., is meagre; the present community there is very modern in origin. Hence, any additional facts throwing light on the early period are welcome. The cited work by Annie Haven Thwing[2] is based on her compilation, "Inhabitants and Estates of the Town of Boston, 1630-1800," comprising one hundred and twenty-five thousand cards which give details of the lives of the principal inhabitants, and twenty-two volumes of extracts from the Suffolk deeds. All are lodged with the Massachusetts Historical Society and, perhaps, may well repay the labor of careful perusal in our interest.

In that part of her book dealing with the West End of Boston[3] Annie Haven Thwing remarks that in 1735 Isaac Solomon, tobacconist, deeded to Michael Asher land lying on the east side of Chambers, formerly Shute, Street, between Cambridge Street and one unnamed,

with all privileges except the use of the Burying Ground as it is now fenced in to the Jewish nation.

Solomon and Asher bought this land jointly from one Joseph Bradford in 173¾. A. M. F.

[2] "The Crooked & Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630-1822," Boston, 1920.

[3] Pp. 205, 206.

Satow on Capo d'Istrias.

In Sir Ernest Satow's "Peacemaking, Old and New," in the *Cambridge Historical Journal,* vol. i, p. 23 *et seq.* (1924), on p. 50 a reference to "Jewish rights" at the Aix-la-Chapelle Conference of 1818 occurs, reading as follows:

> At the meeting of November 21 [1818], Capo d'Istrias produced a detailed memorandum on the position of the Jews, who, he argued, should be treated to an equality of rights with Christians; he proposed to proclaim that Jews and Christians ought to enjoy exactly the same civil and political privileges and immunities, and that governments were bound to recommend to the clergy, and particularly to the bishops, to preach the widest toleration with regard to the Jews. But his views do not appear to have evoked an expression of sympathy.

Considerable attention was given to this incident in a paper by the writer on "Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle," in No. 26 of the *Publications* of the Society, where it appears that a protocol on the project was signed at Aix, and that the entire plan was connected with a memorial prepared by the British missionary, Lewis Way, in which he interested Emperor Alexander I. These facts evidently did not come within Sir Ernest Satow's notice, while, on the other hand, he gives fuller particulars regarding Capo d'Istrias' activities on the subject, on behalf of Russia, than the writer there published.

Max J. Kohler.

NECROLOGY.

Abraham Blum.

Abraham Blum was born in 1843 at Gutzenheim, near Strasbourg, Alsace, France. He was educated in the Jewish school of his home town until he was thirteen years old, afterwards going to a school in Saverne, Alsace. From there, he went to a rabbinical school at Niederbronn, where he graduated at seventeen years of age. He then heard of a vacancy at Bliesbrucken, Lorraine; he took up all his belongings (which were not many) and walked to that place, a distance of twenty-two miles. The congregation in Bliesbrucken accepted him and he performed the duties of reader, rabbi, *shoḥet* and *mohel* to their satisfaction for about eight years.

His father having died about that time, he satisfied his yearning for America; he emigrated in 1868. His first position as rabbi in this country was at Dayton, Ohio. From there he went to Galveston, Texas, where he officiated for nearly fifteen years. While at Galveston, he married Hannah Henriques of New Orleans. After leaving Galveston, he accepted a call as rabbi in Augusta, Ga., and remained there about three years. Owing to serious illness in his family, he was forced to resign and accepted a call from the reform congregation in Los Angeles, Cal. He remained in charge there for eight years, subsequently moving to New York to accept the position as superintendent of Lebanon Hospital, but he was not satisfied with this work and again devoted his activities to the ministry and organized a congregation in the Bronx, probably the first reform congregation that was established in that section of the greater city. He not alone organized the congregation but went to Paris and enlisted the active support of the Baroness de Hirsch and raised sufficient funds for the congregation to build its own synagogue.

Realizing that the Jewish inmates of the different hospitals throughout the city were not receiving proper spiritual attention, he devoted a great deal of his time to this work. His labor in this field requiring all his attention, he resigned as rabbi of the congregation and was appointed state and city chaplain for various hospitals and other charitable institutions in New York City and state. He occupied these various positions for twenty years and was in full charge of this work at such hospitals as Bellevue, Welfare Island, Manhattan State, Kings County, Home for Epileptics at Sonyea, Home for Feeble-Minded at Rome, Kings Park, Central Islip and many others. The chaplaincy for New York City public institutions, was under the auspices of the New York Board of Jewish Ministers.

In 1911 Abraham Blum was appointed chaplain of the New York City police department and served continuously as such up to the time of his death, August 1, 1921. He is survived by his wife and two sons.

JOSEPH SILVERMAN.

HERMAN A. BRAV.

Herman A. Brav, the son of Isaac and Hanna Brav, was born in Hungary, July 15, 1870. After attending elementary schools of his native town where he received his early Hebrew education, at the age of twelve he entered the *Yeshiba* of Szanto and studied under the direction of the learned Rabbi Lipshitz. At the age of eighteen he qualified as a public school teacher. In 1891 he came to this country and settled in Philadelphia. After passing the preliminary requirements, he graduated from the Medico-Chirurgical College in 1898. In 1900 he married Hattie Mitchell, daughter of Henry Mitchell, of Philadelphia. A year later he toured the large medical centers of Europe paying special attention to diseases of the rectum in which he later specialized. He was assistant proctologist

to the Polyclinic Hospital and in 1908 he became chief proctologist to the American Stomach Hospital. He was well known in the medical profession and contributed many articles to various medical journals.

He was an ardent admirer and lover of Jewish congregational music. He was a member of the Adath Jeshurun Congregation and served as a member of the board of trustees until his death. He was a member of the Dorshe Daath Society and was interested in all Jewish educational and philanthropic institutions. Dr. Brav died suddenly on the Day of Atonement, October 12, 1921, on his way home from visiting a patient. He is survived by his wife, his sons Ernest A. and Stanley R. Brav as well as three brothers and two sisters.

Israel Cowen.

Israel Cowen was born in Houston, Texas, December 12, 1861. He attended public schools in Texas and California, was graduated from a private school in New York City, in 1881 from the Royal Gymnasium at Ostrow, Germany, and in 1883 from the Northwestern University, Chicago, with the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

From 1896 to 1899 Israel Cowen was a Master in Chancery of the Superior Court. He was a distinguished member of the American, Illinois State and Chicago Bar Associations; president of the Jewish Chautauqua Society of America; member of the Board of Delegates of Civil and Religious Rights; a trustee of the Chicago Hebrew Institute, the Synagogue and School Extension, the Orthodox Home for Aged Jews, the National Hospital for Consumptives, and shortly before his death was elected president of the Chicago Federation of Synagogues.

Mr. Cowen's outstanding devotion to the service of his neighbor, the wide extent of his interests and energy, together with his extraordinary talents and sympathy endeared him to all those who had the privilege of knowing him.

After an illness of about two months, Israel Cowen died at his home in Chicago, April 3, 1922. He is survived by his widow, Alma Desenberg Cowen, and two children, Bayard and Elizabeth.

Charles Eisenman.

Charles Eisenman was born in New York City in 1865. He enrolled at the age of six in a public school on East Fifth Street and graduated at the age of fourteen. After graduation he took up his residence in Cleveland and entered into the service of his uncles, Rosenblatt Brothers, engaged in the manufacture of overalls. He had scarcely passed his majority when he formed the firm of Kastriner and Eisenman, manufacturers of boys' blouses, their product being known to the trade as K & E. A few years later, Mr. Kastriner retired and the business was conducted by Mr. Eisenman under the name of Charles Eisenman & Co.

In the year 1891 Mr. Eisenman married Bertha Hays, daughter of Kaufman Hays.

In 1903 he was elected president of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Cleveland, which position he held until the day of his death. In 1907 he retired from active business and devoted himself almost exclusively to Federation matters until March, 1917, when he became vice-president of the supplies committee of the Council of National Defense, acting under Julius Rosenwald. In February, 1918, his task completed, he retired from government service. He still gave what time he could to Federation matters, but his health was broken and he passed away March 9, 1923. He was of course, during his lifetime, a valuable member of many boards and organizations, business, civic and philanthropic.

These are the bare facts of an exceptional life, a life rich in achievement and of high inspirational quality. At a period in his business career when most men flushed with success,

eagerly strive in the direction of larger commercial activity and greater profits, Charles Eisenman deliberately abandoned his career of money making to devote himself to a humanitarian task and a pursuit of the nobler values of life.

The supplies committee of the Council of National Defense was charged with the high responsibility of purchasing the wearing apparel needed for several million of men in service. Price, quality and speed in delivery were elements in the problem; familiarity with materials, knowledge of markets, capacity for negotiation were indispensable. Here was a task for business giants, and when the detail of its splendid accomplishment is fairly set forth, it will constitute one of the bright and impressive chapters in the history of the American business man. During all those hurried months of preparation, Charles Eisenman gave himself to his country with a rare devotion. His ability equaled the greatness of his task, his energy never flagged, his patriotism was pure, his integrity without a flaw. Bitter investigation of his activities, inspired largely by partisan motives, failed to establish the truth of a single charge. Public acknowledgment of the high value placed by the Government on his services was made by Newton D. Baker, then Secretary of War, and later confirmed by the award of a Distinguished Service Medal.

Henriette Frank.

Mrs. Henry L. Frank before her marriage was Henriette Greenebaum, a daughter of Michael and Sarah Spiegel Greenebaum. She was born in Chicago, 1854. She attended the Zion Congregation School, and then the Scammon School from which she was graduated in 1867. In 1868 she specialized in musical studies at a private school in Frankfort, Germany. Miss Greenebaum was married to Henry L. Frank in 1873.

Mrs. Frank became a member of the Chicago Woman's Club in 1877, and served as president, 1884-85. She was also a

member of the Fortnightly, and served as president of the Chicago Section, Council of Jewish Women, 1898-1900. She was a speaker at the Congress of Jewish Women in 1893, and also at the first convention in 1896, where she presented a paper on "Our Opportunities." She was an able musician and one of the organizers and officers of the Amateur Musical Society, as well as of the Illinois Training School for Nurses, serving as an officer of this from its origin until her death.

Mrs. Frank's splendid leadership in club work and her constant endeavor to enlarge the vision and opportunities of her fellowmen made her loss a great one to friends, co-workers, and the many who benefited by her kindness and interest. She died in Chicago, March 20, 1922.

Perry Frankel.

Perry Frankel was born in Philadelphia, January 13, 1870, and died on April 9, 1921. He received his education in the public schools of Philadelphia and in the Central High School and thereafter was engaged in a mercantile career.

From his early youth he was interested in Jewish communal work, devoting himself more especially to religious and educational activities. He held many offices in various organizations, the most noteworthy being his presidency of the Jewish Chautauqua Society and of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia. He was a reader and thinker and had acquired a good knowledge of general educational subjects, Jewish subjects and all of the branches of knowledge which go to make a cultivated man. He was an intense American patriot and during the whole of the war period he did his full share in patriotic work. One of his particular interests was the Jewish Welfare Board and he was a frequent volunteer speaker to the Jewish boys at Camp Dix.

These brief statements give the outward life of the man, but by no means paint a picture or furnish the reason for the

influence which he wielded in the Jewish community of his native city. As a considerable employer of labor, he was always just and fair and sympathetic and amidst all the labor trouble of his generation, no strike ever occurred in the factory which he directed. He was at once simple and modest, yet capable and effective. Goodness was the keynote of his life. I venture to repeat what I wrote of him on another occasion:

> As far as I can recall or know, he was without fault of any kind either in character or in conduct. He never to his knowledge injured a human soul. In all climes and in all ages, there are but few really worthy to be numbered among the company of the saints. Of this small company Perry Frankel is a member.

CYRUS ADLER.

J. WALTER FREIBERG.

J. Walter Freiberg was born in the city of Cincinnati, December 20, 1858, the son of Julius and Duffie Workum Freiberg. He attended the public schools and graduated from Hughes High School in June, 1875. He entered upon an active business career immediately following this graduation. A place was made for him in the well-established firm of Freiberg and Workum. He was very successful in mercantile life and soon gained a position among the foremost business men of the city. He was elected a member of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce in 1894 and served four terms. He was a member of the board of directors of the First National Bank, 1905-1921, and also of the Market National Bank.

But J. Walter Freiberg was much more than a successful and representative business man. He was a citizen with high ideals. He loved his fellowman. He was devoted to his ancestral faith. As citizen, as philanthropist and as Jew he performed fine service. He was a leader in many high causes and as such gave unstintedly of his time and his means.

When a new city charter was contemplated for Cincinnati he was elected a member of the Charter Commission in April,

1913. He held the office until June, 1914, when owing to sinister political influences the charter was defeated at the special election held for this purpose.

As philanthropist he stood in the very front rank of Cincinnati Jewry. No good cause ever appealed to him in vain. He was a member of many boards of charitable organizations and was vice-president of the National Denver Hospital for Consumptives, 1911-1921. However, his greatest service was in the cause of his religion which he loved with all his heart and soul and might. Judaism in the United States has had few more faithful devotees than was he. He followed in the footsteps of his parents who in their day and generation were what the son was in his. He was a member of the board of trustees of the Bene Israel Congregation (Rockdale Avenue Temple) for many years and served as president, 1908-1910. But his religious interests extended far beyond the local field. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations held a firm place in his affections. He was elected a member of the executive board in 1903 and served continuously until he was elected president in 1911. He held this exalted office until the date of his death. The work of the subsidiary organizations of the Union, the department of school and synagogue extension (of whose board of managers he was a member since 1907), and the federation of temple sisterhoods, constantly engaged his attention and interest. He was largely instrumental in launching the latter. He called to order the meeting in Cincinnati in January, 1913, at which the federation was organized. This occurred during his occupancy of the presidential chair of the Union. Much of his time during the last ten years of his life was given to directing the affairs of these great national organizations either directly or by advice and counsel.

When on June 9, 1921, J. Walter Freiberg passed from the earthly sphere he occupied a place among the leading Jews of the United States. Wise and good, gentle and kindly, he

died as he had lived, a gentleman without fear and without reproach. He is survived by his widow Stella (Heinsheimer), and ar only son, Julius W.

DAVID PHILIPSON.

ABRAHAM SOLOMON FREIDUS.

On October 2, 1923, there died suddenly in New York City a man who despite all the difficulties of his early life, has made a mark for himself in the literary life of the Jewish people in the city of New York which will remain and which time cannot efface. Abraham Solomon Freidus was born in the city of Riga, which was at that time a part of Russia, in the year 1866. He enjoyed the education that the Jewish young men in the east of Europe were wont to have. But he felt soon that there were other things to be learned in life; and, before going to America, he spent three years in Paris, getting into contact with the larger things represented there, and acquiring an excellent knowledge of the French language. At an early time he had felt that the care of books was to be *his* care; and in order to acquire our modern methods he went through the Pratt Institute Library School in Brooklyn. After doing some cataloguing work at the General Theological Seminary, he joined the staff of the New York Public Library on February 23, 1897. It was there that I met him for the first time; and as I was already in touch with the library, our acquaintance continued from then until the time when he passed away.

In the year 1897 the library contained not more than about 300 volumes dealing with Hebrew and Jewish matters. One A. M. Bank, in the the cotton goods business, had come from St. Petersburg with his private collection of some 2135 Hebrew volumes, which he desired to sell in this country. Preceded by letters from Moritz Ellinger, then a coroner in New York City, and from Hon. A. H. Green, Mr. Bank presented his collection for sale to the Public Library, in a letter

dated March 29, 1897. Having been asked to report upon the collection, I urged strongly that it should be acquired, and I was upheld in this opinion by my colleague, the late Professor Francis Brown of Union Theological Seminary. Towards the end of May of that year, a cataloguing of the Bank Collection was begun by Mr. Freidus.

It had originally been the attention of the authorities of the New York Public Library to join the Hebrew books on to the other books dealing with Oriental languages and history; but it became apparent soon that in consideration of the growing Jewish population and of the special needs of Jewish scholars, a department should be established specifically for Jewish literature. As the head of this department, to which position he was appointed in November, 1897, according to the official history of the library, Mr. Freidus has been known to us all. He had a wonderful knowledge of Hebrew and Judeo-German books; he had the farsightedness to induce the library, when the late Jacob H. Schiff came to its assistance, to use its resources so as to gather a collection that easily will rival that of any in a public library in this country. Above and beyond all, he had infinite patience and infinite good will in helping out those who needed assistance. There is, probably, no one member of our American Jewish Historical Society that has written for our publications who has not made use of his services; and the writers for the Jewish press owe him all the thanks that they poured out when expressing their sorrow at his untimely death.

Not only as a librarian will Mr. Freidus be remembered. He was also a bibliographer of great care and of extraordinary accuracy. He compiled a bibliography of the Jewish drama that was published in the *Jewish Year Book* for 1900. In the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, vol. vi, he published a list of the Jewish periodicals in the library and in vol. vii a list of the anti-Semitic and Jewish-Christian periodicals. In my own list of works on Persia, published in

1915, he contributed the section entitled Jews in Persia, and, finally, he himself published a list of works relating to the history and condition of the Jews in various countries—a work done with great care and attention to detail and consequently most useful to all those working along the lines of Jewish literature or Jewish history.

Mr. Freidus prepared the scheme of classification of Judaica in use in the New York Public Library, for the details of which reference may be had to the present writer's article on library classification in "The Jewish Encyclopedia." This scheme, with modifications adapted to their different needs, has been followed by other large libraries possessing Judaica.

Is it not the duty of the Jewish people in the city of New York to make it possible for the library to continue the work so auspiciously begun by our lamented and former member? In this connection I should like to recall the fact that when he gathered moneys, as he occasionally did, to purchase some books that the library needed, he gave liberally out of his own pocket and from his own slender means. This fact ought to point the way in which we whom he helped can honor him.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

JANE FRIEDENWALD.

On April 13, 1923, there passed from this life a woman of the old school, Jane Friedenwald.

As I sit in my study I glance up at a fine picture of this noble woman taken shortly before she died. Every feature of her face bears a semblance of simplicity and goodness. The fine lace collar that adorns her neck is characteristic of her love and respect, for it has been cherished as a loving memory of some dear departed, and preserved for posterity as a symbol.

Again I note a vase of flowers standing nearby denoting that her pleasures were derived not from wanton waste-

fulness but instead she found pastime and delight through nature's simple gifts.

Born in Manchester, England, Jane Friedenwald, daughter of Fannie and Julius Ahlborn, emigrated to this country in 1860. She lived for a period of years in St. Louis, Mo., and later moved to Baltimore, Md. At the age of eighteen she was married to Moses Friedenwald. The cares and stress of the Civil War period impaired his health and he was an invalid for many years. Here again the sterling qualities of this woman shone forth. Not as a frowning necessity did she minister to his wants but with a lovingkindness carried to such a degree that manifested itself so strongly that one could readily see it was a real pleasure to serve him.

She is survived by three daughters and a son, Mrs. Belle Belmont, Mrs. Cyrus Adler, Mrs. Merle F. Hamburger and Dr. Herbert Friedenwald.

Jane Friedenwald had a brilliant mind. She was a charter member of the American Jewish Historical Society, the Jewish Publication Society of America and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Through all the changes of modern literature she managed well to maintain a surprising knowledge of the output of the book world, yet always reading and re-reading the masters of old with a keen conception of what she had read. She was a true critic and as a result a splendid conversationalist. Added to her love for books was the pleasure of art and music and while her health permitted few were the concerts and recitals or art exhibits that she missed.

But the crowning glory of her life, the standards by which she measured all things were her religion and her charities. To her they were so closely linked that each seemed part of the other. And not for show or display did she expend her charity but in that fine quiet way, so soft that none could hear, did she lend the helping hand to the needy, did she visit the sick and did she give bountiful support, yea for

years and years. Mere money has served well its purpose under the guiding hand of this good woman.

May it not well be said that in the passing away of Jane Friedenwald was the passing away of a woman of the old school.

ALBERT BERNEY.

DANIEL PEIXOTTO HAYS.

Daniel Peixotto Hays was born in Pleasantville, Westchester County, N. Y., March 28, 1854, and died in New York City, November 24, 1923. His father was David Hays, a pharmacist (1820-1897), for many years treasurer of the College of Pharmacy of the City of New York. His mother was Judith Salzedo Peixotto.

The history of Mr. Hays' family is briefly as follows: it came to New Netherland from Holland in the latter part of the seventeenth century before the English conquest of New Amsterdam. According to a tradition preserved by the late William Henry Hays, who derived it from his father, Jacob Hays, High Constable of New York, the Hayses came in their own ship, with their servants, cattle, seeds and tools of agriculture. The first settlement was near New Rochelle, N. Y. David Hays, first American born son of Jacob, was born near New Rochelle, March, 1732. His father, Jacob Hays, was naturalized in 1723. The family subsequently moved up to Bedford, Westchester County, where they were living at the time of the Revolution. David Hays' house at Bedford was burned by the Tories during the royalist raid upon that town in July, 1779. At the time, David's wife was lying sick, with a new born infant at her breast, and her husband and eldest son were away with the army. The Hays family moved to Pleasantville about 1787. Jacob, the eldest son of David, was High Constable of New York City, 1802-1849. Benjamin Etting Hays, a younger son of David, and

grandfather of Daniel P. Hays, became a farmer at Pleasantville, where he was well-known and highly respected. His eldest son was David, the father of Daniel P. Hays, who at the time of his death was the owner by purchase and occupied the property at Pleasantville, which had thus been acquired by his great-grandfather just after the Revolution.

Daniel P. Hays attended the school at Pleasantville, Grammar School No. 35 in West 13th Street, New York City, College of the City of New York, class of 1873, Columbia Law School, class of 1875, and was awarded an LL. B. at the last-named institution. In 1875 he entered the law office of former County Judge Elias J. Beach, and shortly thereafter became a member of the firm of Beach and Hays. In 1884, on the death of Judge Beach, he formed a partnership with James S. Carpentier, under the name of Carpentier and Hays, and upon the dissolution of that firm, he formed a partnership with Samuel Greenbaum, under the firm name of Hays and Greenbaum. He was a member of that firm for seventeen years. His partner Samuel Greenbaum became a justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. A new firm was organized under the name of Hays and Hershfield, later Hays, Hershfield and Wolf, of which Mr. Hays remained a member to the time of his death. He was very active in all matters pertaining to his profession, and was well-known as a trial lawyer, having tried many important cases in the State and Federal Courts.

Among the public offices Mr. Hays held were the following: chairman of the Municipal Civil Service Board of New York City under Mayor Gilroy; president of the Village of Pleasantville: member of the Palisades Commission; vice chairman of the Westchester County Commission on County Government; manager and president of the Bedford State Reformatory for Women; member and treasurer of the board of managers of the State Normal School of Westchester; chairman of the local board of district No. 5 of Westchester County

and member of the committee on safety of Westchester County during the World War. Mr. Hays was a member of the American Bar Association, New York State Bar Association, New York County Lawyers Association, governor of the Pleasantville University Club; president of Temple Israel; governor of the Judaeans; member of the executive committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; trustee of the Westchester Historical Society; one-time trustee and president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association; and member of the American Jewish Historical Society, Columbia Club, Lawyers' Club, Manhattan Club, Harlem Democratic Club; one of the founders of *The American Hebrew;* one-time trustee of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Mr. Hays was married April 7, 1880, to Rachel Hershfield, and died, leaving six children and thirteen grandchildren. The names of the children are: Judith Peixotto Goldsmith, Florence Hays Corn, Edwin Daniel Hays, Mabel Ray Lachenbruch, Bessie Hays Dreifuss, and Helen Hays Auerbach.

Mr. Hays' publications include: "Collected Poems," New York, 1905; A Memoir of Daniel L. Maduro Peixotto, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 26, p. 219; "The Future of Judaism in America;" and articles, speeches and essays in *The American Hebrew, The American Israelite, Westchester,* and other periodicals.

A memorial service in honor of Mr. Hays was held at Temple Israel, Sunday, March 30, 1924, at which the speakers were Rev. Dr. Maurice H. Harris and Rev. Dr. Louis I. Newman, Prof. Charles P. Fagnani, Ben Altheimer, Joseph Rosenzweig, Senator Seabury C. Mastick, Mrs. Mortimer M. Menken, Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and Adolph S. Ochs. Mr. Hays is buried in Mount Hope Cemetery, Westchester County.

Louis I. Newman.

Morris Jastrow, Jr.

It is with some diffidence that I take upon myself the task of saying a few words—and they can only be a few—in regard to our former colleague and member, the late Professor Morris Jastrow. To me personally he was a colleague in more senses than one. Our acquaintance as fellow scholars and as fellow workers in the same field dated from about the year 1882 or 1883, when he was a student in the Orthodox Jewish Seminary in Breslau, and and I one at the Reform Seminary in Berlin. My last communication from him I received in Strasbourg on the very day on which the Paris *Herald* brought the notice of his death.

It is pertinent—and especially here—to note that Dr. Jastrow commenced his career as a scientific writer on Semitic subjects, by dealing with literature that was interesting especially to Jews. The dissertation, which gained for him his degree of Ph. D. at Leipzig in 1884, dealt with a Hebrew grammarian who wrote in Arabic, *Abu Zakariyya Hayyuj*, and whose work on "Weak Geminative Verbs in Hebrew" he published subsequently in full in the year 1897. The last years of his life were also engaged in studying Jewish literature. His book on Ecclesiastes appeared in 1909, that on Job in 1920, and that on the Song of Songs he left practically ready for printing, and it has appeared as his post mortal greeting to his people in the year 1921.

What a fullness of work lies between these two points: 1884 and 1921! As an Assyriologist, he has given us in his "Religions of the Babylonians and Assyrians" a book of permanent value, which he has put into more popular form in his "Aspects of Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria" (1911) and in his "Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions" (1914); whilst most of our learned periodicals upon this side of the water and upon the other are filled of his productive pen. He could deal with all subjects; but those through which his heart spoke were the ones that lay within the field

of the history of religion. He had been brought up for service in the synagogue and to the end—however far he may have traveled philosophically from the older highroads and by-ways of our established faith—the subject of religion and the relation of man to the universe in the most elevated sense of this term, always captured his interest and laid a tribute upon his attention. It was in this spirit that he conceived the idea of forming a committee to provide the leading institutions of this country with series of lectures by famous scholars upon this very topic; it was my pleasure to serve with him upon this committee for many years.

It is, however, specifically as a member of our Society that I am called upon to speak of Professor Jastrow. He was present at the organization meeting held on June 7, 1892. I understood that he was deeply interested in the work that the Society proposed to do. He was a member of the first Executive Council of the Society; and he remained a member of the Council until the year 1906. Here also he showed the constructive genius that was his and which he brought to bear upon various other societies with which he was connected. At the meeting of the Council in 1892, he laid down a plan looking to a collection of the materials for the history of the Jews in this country which I cannot help feeling it is a great pity was not adopted then. He suggested that

> local historiographers should be appointed who should make it their business to see that in the territory assigned to them every important event should be noted down and sent to the Secretary.

Had the plan gone through, we should now have at hand a fund of material upon which to draw and which students and societies are forced to secure by means less simple and more costly. The idea that he put forth has been taken up recently though in a little different form it is true; but it is certain that the *Bi-Weekly Summary of Events of Jewish Interest.* published by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research here, and the *Bulletin du Comité des Délégations Juives,* published in Paris, are intended to accomplish the same ends.

In the busy life that Professor Jastrow led, as professor at the University of Pennsylvania, as the librarian of that university, as lecturer, writer, and as *homme du monde,* it is natural that his contributions to the *Publications* of our Society cannot have been many. Yet we are indebted to him for an interesting paper dealing with the Jews of Philadelphia as drawn from published annals, a paper which was printed in No. 1 of our *Publications,* dated 1893—one year previous to the appearance of Henry S. Morais' book on "The Jews of Philadelphia" in which he especially laid under contribution not only Watson, but particularly Thompson Westcott, whom he calls the historian of Philadelphia *par excellence.* In No. 5 he printed a series of 33 documents relating to the career of Colonel Isaac Franks, documents which had been in the possession of George W. Huffnagle of New Hope, Bucks County, Pa., a grandson of Isaac Franks. And finally, in No. 10, we had from him a notable article dealing with the many references to Jews in the diary of Ezra Stiles, one of the presidents of Yale College. Small as these articles are in number, they exhibit the same care and exactitude which Professor Jastrow showed in all his scientific productions. So much for the literary work of our former colleague.

The simple facts of his life that are necessary for this present notice are that he was born in Warsaw, Poland, August 12, 1861, that he came to Philadelphia in 1866, that he received the degree of A. B. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1881; that he studied at the universities of Breslau, Strasbourg, Leipzig, and Paris, and received his degree of Ph. D. at Leipzig in 1884; that he became lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania in 1885 and that he was connected with the library of that university from the year 1888 down to 1919, and finally, that he passed away suddenly on June 22, 1921.

But I would not have these few words end in this fashion. As I have said, Professor Jastrow has dealt very much with

the religions that grew up in the kingdoms of the two rivers—of Assyria and Babylonia. However much he may have thought of the wonderful civilization that non-Semitic and Semitic peoples had built up there, and of their literature, the religion that he had learned in his father's house meant until the end a great deal to him; for in closing his lectures on "Religion in Babylonia and Assyria" and speaking of the exalted level attained by the prophets, he says:

> The kernel and true meaning of the monotheistic conception of the universe as unfolded by the prophets, is lost by any endeavor to place the conception on a level with the monotheistic strain that is vaguely but unquestionably present in the speculations of the Babylonian-Assyrian priests. Monotheism, in itself, is not specifically religious, but rather the outcome of philosophic thought—not necessarily even of a high order of thought. Monotheism becomes religious only through the infusion of the ethical spirit. For the first time, in this combination it makes its appearance in Hebrew history during the centuries which produced an Amos, an Hosea, a Micah, an Isaiah, and a Jeremiah—whose teachings may be summed up in the assertion that the government of the universe is an expression of the sovereignty of ethics.

However much some of us may have differed with Professor Jastrow upon Jewish subjects in general and upon Jewish religious subjects in particular, it is in the ardor of the sentiments that I have quoted that we like to take leave of him. It is in an atmosphere such as the one created by these words that we wish to think of him; and I am sure that he would agree to my closing these few remarks with the words of the Persian poet:

> Diversity of worship has divided the human race into 72 nations; from all their dogmas I have selected one, the love of God.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

EDWARD LAUTERBACH.

It is the aim to present a bare outline of the long and busy life of Edward Lauterbach who died March 3, 1923, in his

seventy-ninth year, in the city of New York where he was born.

His parents were German Jews of humble origin but of high principles. They gave to their son a liberal education for that period by sending him to what was then known as the Free Academy and is now the College of the City of New York. He was a good student and popular by reason of his geniality and gifts as a conversationalist and debater.

He then entered the law office of Townsend, Dyett & Morrison where he fitted himself for admission to the Bar. Later, Henry Morrison, his preceptor, formed the firm of Morrison, Lauterbach & Spingarn, the last-named being one of Mr. Lauterbach's boyhood companions.

It was fairly hard going at first but young Lauterbach was a thoroughly grounded lawyer and with the richness of his eloquence, soon took his place as one of the promising advocates of the New York Bar. He worked hard and soon became not only a leading advocate in the courts but the adviser of great financial interests.

Although at that time the law was his absorbing and zealous mistress, he still found time for general literature in which he was well informed, as the library of which he died possessed bears witness. He also became interested in politics, was an ardent Republican, became chairman of the New York Republican County Committee, was one of the "Big Four," and with Senator Thomas C. Platt, Senator Chauncey M. Depew and Governor Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., was, in a great measure, the responsible author of the gold plank in the platform (1896) of McKinley in his campaign against Bryan.

While he was eminently successful in politics, his professional career, of course, was interfered with to some extent by his political activities. Such a result was to be deplored because almost every lawyer of high standing who knew him believed that he could have become the leading advocate in the state if he had adhered strictly to his professional work.

He continued as a practising lawyer to the end, more devoted in his later years to the work of consultant than that of advocate in the courts.

In addition to his professional and political activities, he was always interested in charity. As a member of the Constitutional Convention, he strove for religious education and endeared himself to Catholics, Protestants and Jews alike. He was counsel to the Mt. Sinai Hospital and the Hebrew Orphan Asylum—both labors of love. Of the latter he was the oldest living trustee. But it was in his private well-doing rather than in his public work that he especially shone. He gave when he had to give, but more to his credit, he gave when he had little to give.

But his personality far overshadowed his good deeds. His quick step and bright eye, his hearty, cheerful manner together made an impression that was rare, deep and irresistible; it won everywhere and everybody. "To live in the hearts of those we love is not to die." Edward Lauterbach did more than this—he lived in the hearts of many, many more whom he knew not well enough to love.

Rudolph Levi.

Rudolph Levi, well known as a man of noble character, was called hence on August 23, 1921, after an illness of several months. He was born in Bingen, Germany, March 25, 1853. He came to Newark, N. J., when seventeen years of age and was domiciled there for fifty-one years.

Mr. Levi's life was one of service and helpfulness to his fellowmen. Nor were his good deeds confined to those of his religious faith. Whenever there was a call for financial or spiritual assistance, the necessary aid was always forthcoming if the appeal was known to him; but his diffident and reserved nature made him inconspicuous to those who were not fortunate enough to know of his benevolent character. Yet

many who observed his achievements fully appreciated the goodness of his heart and the success of his endeavors to make life easier and happier for others. Mr. Levi was active in building and loan associations and helped to organize many such thrift societies. He was a charter member and first secretary of the Knights of Pythias Building and Loan Association, a position which he continued to hold for thirty-seven years until his death.

Mr. Levi's literary and religious aspirations were calculated to make him a highly respected Jew. He was a teacher for many years in the religious school of the Temple B'nai Jeshurun of which he was vice-president. His knowledge of Jewish teachings and history enabled him to impart the lessons of Jewish life to the youth of the community. His appreciation of Jewish ideals and tradition was not confined to his teachings for his was a life of religious achievement. In his dealing with his fellowmen he was upright and truthful and thus did he command the respect of all who knew him. When the God of Israel beckoned, Rudolph Levi stood in the presence of his Creator as a princely man whose life was one of service to his brethren and one who passed with a smile on his lips for his life was not in vain.

Louis Hiram Levin.

Sprung from the people, obliged at an early period to earn his livelihood, yet, in spite of this, a student of law and admitted a member of the bar; later editor of one of the best Jewish weeklies; called upon to assume charge of organizing the Baltimore Jewish Charities and developing the organization into one of the most complete and successful in the country; known throughout the land as one of the ablest of social workers; leaving upon his community an indelible and unique impress of his influence and activity; such is an outline of the remarkable life of Louis Hiram Levin.

He was born in Charleston, S. C., January 13, 1866. His family traced their ancestry to the great medieval Rabbi Lipman Heller. Coming to Baltimore at an early age, he received his education in the public schools and high school. He then became a bookkeeper, to which training he owed his great ability as an accountant; which stood him in good stead in his later activities. He received his degree in law at the Baltimore Law School, and practised law for a few years, when he was drawn into the movement to unite the various independent Jewish charities into federations and later into a single united organization. In the meantime, he had taken over the editorship of *Jewish Comment,* then a weekly of little standing, and he made of it a paper of great influence not only in Baltimore but throughout the country.

It can be stated truthfully that during all his mature years there was no worthy Jewish activity in Baltimore, whether educational or philanthropic, in which he did not take a leading part. For this he was well fitted by reason of his wide knowledge and splendid judgment and especially his intense interest and devotion to everything Jewish, to everything that made for better Jewish conditions, to everything that advanced Jewish education, Jewish religious life and the Jewish cause here and throughout the world. In 1915 when the U. S. collier *Vulcan* was sent to Palestine, laden with food and medicine, he was quite naturally selected, as the representative of American Jewry, to make the distribution properly. His ability as organizer and director of charities led to his election as president of the National Conference of Jewish Charities in 1921. His interests and services, however, were not limited to the Jewish community.

He was one of the best read men in the community, a man of true culture and wide interests. He was a gifted writer. The evidences of this were seen throughout his long connection with *Jewish Comment* and also in many addresses, essays and dramas. He was a member of the Zionist Organization and one of the most earnest and devoted, through his life. He

was a man of deep religious feeling, an active member of the Chizuk Amunah Congregation and a regular attendant at its services; in public and in private life he manifested that inspiring charm of Judaism when it combines fervor and tolerance, piety and spirituality with a deep knowledge of Jewish traditions and of Hebrew literature.

A man with the wide interests, the intense devotion and the unlimited energy of Louis H. Levin could not but be a tremendous worker. There is no doubt that he was thus led to overwork in such degree, that it brought on illness and his early death at the age of fifty-seven, April 22, 1923.

Even the briefest record of his life would miss an essential element were there no mention of Mr. Levin's family life. He was married to Miss Bertha Szold, the gifted daughter of the well-known scholar and rabbi, Benjamin Szold; she was a true helpmate, inspiring him by her interest, intelligence and sympathy. Their marriage was blessed by five children. In all his family relations, to his wife and children, to his parents and his sisters, he ever showed the most perfect and tender devotion.

In the community there was no one better known, more deeply respected, admired and beloved. A memorial has been erected to him by the community in the naming of the model Orphan Home, just completed at the time of his death, Levindale. But a much more lasting monument is his master work, the Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore. In this work of organization, it was he who made the Baltimore Jewish community a truly unified community, a model for other large communities in this country.

HARRY FRIEDENWALD.

MINNIE D. LOUIS.

No woman of her time did more to originate and develop measures designed to benefit her fellow beings than Minnie Dessau Louis whose active life ended suddenly on March 12, 1922, in the eighty-second year of her age.

Mrs. Louis was born in Philadelphia, June 21, 1841. She moved to Georgia with her parents, Abraham and Fanny (Zachariah) Dessau when four months old. She received her schooling in the academic institutions of Columbus, Ga., and attended Packer Collegiate Institution, Brooklyn, in 1857 and 1858. Her education was largely undertaken by a maternal aunt and a paternal uncle who became devotedly attached to her, and who being childless, looked upon her as their own daughter. Later in life when her aunt became blind and helpless, Mrs. Louis cared for her with affectionate and tender solicitude. In 1866, in New York City, Minnie Dessau married Adolph H. Louis, who died in 1897.

She formed the Louis Down-Town Sabbath School, which ultimately became the Hebrew Technical School for Girls of New York. She was acting president of the kindergartens of the Hebrew Free School, 1882-1883; secretary, executive committee of Mt. Sinai Training School for Nurses, 1882-1886; president, 1886-1889. Mrs. Louis organized the work of the Clara de Hirsch Home for Working Girls in 1897. She was chairman of the first national committee on religion of the Council of Jewish Women in 1894 and formulated its work, and she was partly instrumental in organizing the Council itself. Mrs. Louis was public school inspectress in 1894 and editor of the personal service department of *The American Hebrew,* 1901-1903.

Lee Kohns.

Martin A. Meyer.

Martin Abraham Meyer was born in San Francisco, Cal., January 15, 1879, and died there June 27, 1923. He was the son of Charles and Louisa B. (Silberstein) Meyer. After receiving his education in the public schools of San Francisco, he decided to enter the rabbinate, having received his early training under the tutelage of the late Jacob Voorsanger of

Temple Emanu-El. Rabbi Meyer received his A. B. degree at the University of Cincinnati in 1899, and his Bachelor of Divinity degree at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, in the class of 1901. He was fellow at the American School in Jerusalem in 1901-02, and received his Ph. D. at Columbia in 1906, being a pupil of Professor Richard Gottheil.

He was married to Jennie May Haas of Cincinnati, June 19, 1905. He was rabbi at Albany, N. Y., Temple Beth Emeth, 1902-06, and of Temple Israel, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1906-10. From January 1, 1910, to the date of his death, he was rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, succeeding his former teacher Jacob Voorsanger.

Rabbi Meyer occupied a notable position in the life of California and of American Jewry. He was director of the First Hebrew Congregation of Berkeley, lecturer at the University of California in Jewish history from January, 1911, to his death; president of the Pacific Coast branch of the Jewish Chautauqua Society; honorary president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association; member of the California Commission of Charities and Corrections, 1911-20; chairman of the North California branch of the Jewish Welfare Board; vice-president of the Jewish Publication Society of America. He served with the Overseas American Red Cross in France, 1918-19.

He was a member of the Commonwealth, Faculty, Concordia, Beresford and other clubs, a member of several learned societies including the American Jewish Historical Society, the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, and the American Oriental Society. He was the author of "The History of the City of Gaza" (1906); "Jew and Non-Jew" (1913); "Methods of Teaching Post-Biblical History and Literature" (1915); contributor to "The Jewish Encyclopedia;" editor of "Sermons and Addresses of Jacob Voorsanger" (1913); of *Emanu-El,* May, 1910–August, 1911, editorial contributor, 1913, to his death.

Rabbi Meyer was well-known as preacher and lecturer, having delivered the convention address at the biennial convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at Buffalo, 1921, and the baccalaureate address before the graduating class of the Hebrew Union College in the same year. He was a member of the board of the *Menorah Journal.* He served on many national Jewish committees: American Jewish Congress, Zionist, Palestine Restoration Fund, etc. He was influential as a teacher of youth, and trained several students for the rabbinate. He was commencement speaker at the University of California in 1920, founder of the Jewish Students' Loan Fund, perpetuated as a Memorial Fund in his honor.

Rabbi Meyer is survived by his widow and by his two children, Adolph and Louise. Memorial resolutions were passed by the Central Conference of American Rabbis at its session at Cape May, 1923, and the memorial address was delivered by Rabbi Hyman G. Enelow, of Temple Emanu-El, New York.

Louis I. Newman.

Bernard A. Palitz.

Bernard A. Palitz, general agent of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, who died March 2, 1922, at the age of fifty-seven, united in his person, many years of practical experience in self-sacrificingly seeking the welfare of his co-religionists with a deep love for their history and their ideals, as a source of inspiration and a key to comprehension of the present day's problems. He was born in Novo-Alexondrow, Kovno, Russia, in 1865, and came to the United States at the age of twenty-six. He was connected for upwards of twenty years, (beginning in 1900) with the American organization founded by the great philanthropist, originally, as bookkeeper at the Jewish settlement, Woodbine, N. J., then from 1905 to 1910 as its

superintendent; ultimately, upon the death of his chief, Prof. H. L. Sabsovich in 1915, as general agent, after having served as assistant general agent from 1913 on. In the interim, 1910-13, he had served as bookkeeper of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in New York, with the exception of a year (1911-12) during which he was superintendent of the Young Men's Hebrew Association in Louisville. Agricultural endeavors among the Jews of America particularly interested him, but every movement looking towards the improvement and advancement of the Jewish immigrant, commanded his earnest thought and untiring effort. This was particularly true of everything relating to the Americanization of the immigrants, good schooling for their children and establishment of self-government under the borough system for Woodbine. He was one of the most modest and unselfish men who ever lived; it was constantly necessary for the trustees to remind him of his own personal and pecuniary interests, so self-effacing was his character. He was a diligent reader, and a man of scholarly interests and good judgment. Almost simultaneously with his sudden death, a biography of his friend H. L. Sabsovich appeared entitled "Adventures in Idealism," published by the latter's widow, to which he contributed a tribute to his predecessor entitled "A Life Well Spent." He was a member of this society for a number of years, and presented a paper at its Newark meeting in 1919 entitled "The Upward Struggle of the Cause of Secular Education in Russian Jewry in the Reign of Alexander I and Nicholas I," and he was engaged in preparing, in conjunction with the present writer, a paper on Jean de Bloch for the thirtieth annual meeting, which he was not destined to finish. Dr. Boris D. Bogen, who was for years his close associate on the Baron de Hirsch Fund staff, well said of him on the occasion of his passing away:

> He was not only an efficient administrator, a person with a broad vision and great initiative, but a man whose character was beyond reproach, whose devotion to the cause was unlimited, whose love for

humanity had no bounds. . . . . Modest, unassuming, indefatigable in his labors, never trying to be conspicuous, he quietly, patiently and modestly performed his duty, never thinking of himself.

MAX J. KOHLER.

ABRAHAM ROTHSCHILD.

The death of Abraham Rothschild, honored and revered by those of us who were fortunate to be of his associates and friends, brought sincere sorrow. He was born in Germany, October 30, 1861. The foundation and early education for his life of joyful service and usefulness was obtained through the invaluable parental supervision of his father, a school teacher. He was brought to this country at the age of thirteen and continued his studies in Boston. As a young man Mr. Rothschild was engaged in the millinery business. He later became associated in the partnership of Stengel and Rothschild, leather manufacturers. By his remarkable industry and initiative he helped make his firm one of the most highly reputed and best known leather houses in the United States. His interests were not confined to the commercial for he engaged himself actively in civic, educational and religious work in and about Newark, N. J. The honors bestowed upon him in the numerous institutions into which he gave of his best services showed him to be a man of broad interests and sterling integrity and a capable and distinguished leader among men. He was a director in the Newark Museum Association, the Newark Institute of Arts and Sciences, the National State Bank, the Carteret Book Club and others. He was president of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and the United Hebrew Charities and a member of the board of trustees of the Temple B'nai Jeshurun.

It is well known that Mr. Rothschild's life of service had as its inspiration the happy surroundings of his home. His exceptionally fine library was to him a source of guidance and encouragement and it was into this golden realm of knowl-

edge that be came with his problems and always found solution in his comprehension and appreciation of the experiences of other masters. Mr. Rothschild was stricken with apoplexy after an illness of two months and died June 26, 1921. He is survived by Mrs. Rothschild, one son and three daughters. The memory of Mr. Rothschild will be a blessing and a source of inspiration to those who have known him.

Charles Hillison Shapiro.

Charles Hillison Shapiro was born in Plunyon, Russia, March 5, 1881, the son of Barnet and Esther Shapiro. At the time of his birth only a very small percentage of Jewish males were permitted to attend schools in Russia, females being absolutely barred.

Barnet Shapiro, the father, was one of the favored Jews who had been admitted to the schools. Realizing the improbability of his children receiving proper educational advantages, Barnet Shapiro emigrated to this country in 1882. After residing about seven years in New York the family moved to Bridgeport, Conn.

Charles Shapiro entered the public schools at an early age and from the start proved himself possessed of unusual ability; serious, diligent, with tremendous application, and winning the respect and good will of all. He was graduated in 1900 from the Bridgeport High School and later entered the Yale Law School. While in the law school his father died leaving a widow and five children, of whom Charles was the oldest. Charles unhesitatingly took his father's place and with high courage consoled his mother and devoted himself to the great work of supporting the family, finishing his own course, and giving to the children the best education that the schools and colleges of the country offered. He conquered all adverse circumstances and it is inspiring to know that he lived to see his wonderful efforts crowned with success.

First, he himself, notwithstanding the time he was forced to teach, work on newspapers and devote himself to others, was graduated with high honors and also took honors in his first and second years. Second, his brothers followed in his footsteps, and we can imagine his pride and satisfaction when two of them gained honor rank in his beloved law school; and still another, when he had substantially finished his course in the Yale Medical School, volunteered in the Regular Army of the United States and is at present in charge of the American Relief Administration work in Odessa.

After he was graduated from the law school he began the practice of law in Bridgeport, and by his integrity, knowledge of the law and devotion to the interests of his clients, built up a large and loyal clientele.

Charles Shapiro labored in many fields and filled innumerable positions of public and private trust. He was active in the councils of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.

He was proud of his opportunity for service. During the World War he rendered unswerving loyalty to the many duties he was called upon to perform, and after the war in philanthropic and social service work he was untiring. He took a prominent part in the various local drives. He died at New York, August 23, 1922.

Samuel Snellenburg.

Samuel Snellenburg was born in Westphalia, August 22, 1847. At an early age he came with his parents to America. He learned the trade of cigar-making. Later, he abandoned this trade and became associated with his brother, Joseph J. Snellenburg, in the business of general merchandising at New Brighton, Pa. In 1873, he, with his brother Nathan Snellenburg and Simon L. Bloch, organized the firm of N. Snellenburg & Co., which engaged in the manufacture and sale of clothing at wholesale and retail, in the city of Phila-

delphia. Subsequently, the business of this firm greatly expanded, so that for years it has operated one of the largest department stores in Philadelphia. In addition, it conducts a store in the city of Wilmington, Del.

Samuel Snellenburg married Hannah Eichholz in 1877. He died August 17, 1923, leaving four children, Mrs. Josephine E. Nathanson, of Philadelphia, Mrs. Lewis M. Schamberg, of New York, Morton E. Snellenburg, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Arthur R. Seligman, of New York.

Business success and the acquisition of riches never changed his character,—that of a plain, unassuming man, with generous impulses.

ADOLPH EICHHOLZ.

PHILIP STEIN.

Philip Stein was born in Staehle, Germany, March 12, 1844.

When he was ten years old the family sailed for America. At that time German immigration was at its height. The usual hard struggle followed, all the more difficult because of the fact that the father and main support died a few years before the family left Germany.

The ambitious mother firmly resolved that her children were not to suffer for lack of education and although they had settled on a farm near Waukesha, Wisconsin, and there was plenty of work for everyone, she sent her children to school in Milwaukee. The family soon recognized that Philip had unusual ability and used every effort to put him through college. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin, in 1865, valedictorian as well as the youngest member of his class. To complete his studies, he spent three years abroad at the universities of Heidelberg, Bonn and Berlin, where he had as his teachers some of the most distinguished professors of philosophy, history and jurisprudence. Upon his return to America he studied law in a prominent Milwaukee office.

When he came to Chicago, over fifty years ago, he was well equipped with everything that goes to make a fine lawyer, well instructed mentally, with high ideals and fine moral principles. In 1868 he opened his first law office in Chicago and soon thereafter became a member of the firm of Kraus, Mayer & Stein.

In November, 1892, Philip Stein was elected Judge of the Superior Court, and in 1898 was reëlected. In June, 1903, he was assigned by the Supreme Court to the Appellate Court and the next year was made Presiding Judge of the Appellate Court.

Perhaps his most famous decision was the ruling which prevented the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday, thereby giving working people ample and convenient opportunity to visit and benefit from it. During his fourteen years of service on the bench, he won the approbation of the best men of the bar because of his keen sense of justice and duty and a proper appreciation of the dignity and purity of the bench. In public service, other than his career as a judge, Philip Stein was a member of the Board of Education of Chicago in 1911.

In 1904 he headed a committee which went before Secretary of State Hay to demand that the same treatment be given American Jews in Russia as was accorded other American citizens. For a generation he was a leader in Jewish activities. He was a prominent member of the B'nai B'rith from the time that he first made Chicago his home until his death. He was particularly active in its philanthropic endeavors and displayed special interest in the Cleveland Orphan Asylum, on the board of which he served for many years. For several years before his death he was actively engaged in the work of the Anti-Defamation League and applied himself energetically to bring about the necessary changes by which some of the prejudices against the Jewish race would be eradicated.

He possessed a brilliant mind, scrupulously exact in the formation of his thoughts and the expression thereof; a man of strong will and exacting of himself as well as of others.

He died December 25, 1922, survived by his widow and five married daughters.

Mayer Sulzberger.

In Mayer Sulzberger American Jewry has lost one of its foremost leaders and one of its most outstanding personalities.

Sulzberger was born in Heidelsheim, Baden, June 22, 1843. His father was *hazzan* and teacher in that community. In consequence of the anti-Jewish movement in the wake of the revolution of 1848 in which the Jews of Heidelsheim had to suffer the Sulzberger family decided to emigrate to America. Mayer Sulzberger had a vivid recollection of the events preceding this step when the call, *Die Juden müssen aus dem Wald,* and the Hep! Hep! of the mob made life uncertain and Prussian soldiers who came to suppress the uprising were stationed in his father's house and befriended the children. In 1849 the family came to America and at once settled in Philadelphia. Here the studious young boy passed through the public school and Central High School from which he graduated in 1859 just after he had passed his sixteenth year. At the same time he received his Hebrew education from his father who laid the foundation for his knowledge of Bible and post-Biblical Jewish literature in which he remained deeply interested all his life. As he was too young to begin his studies for the legal career for which his father had destined him, he spent two years in business gaining an experience and insight which proved invaluable for him in later life.

In 1862 he entered the law office of Moses A. Dropsie under whom he studied and was introduced to the practice of law.

In 1865 he was admitted to the bar and after being associated with Mr. Dropsie for another ten years he opened an office for himself in 1876. He became one of the leading lawyers of Philadelphia, but in 1894 he gave up his very lucrative practice and was elected Judge in the Court of Common Pleas on the Republican ticket. In 1904 when he came up for reëlection his reputation was such as to bring about his nomination by both parties without any opposition. He became the President Judge of this court from which he retired in 1915 at the age of seventy-two. His public career, however, did not end with his retirement and in the last year of his life he was a member of the committee revising the constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania attending as far as his health permitted the meetings of that body and throwing himself with youthful enthusiasm into this work which greatly appealed to him and engrossed his attention.

The example of his father and the great influence of his revered master and friend, Isaac Leeser, brought Sulzberger at an early period to take an active part in the communal Jewish life in his beloved home city which he always refused to leave, however, tempting might be the offers made to him at various times. It is not my intention to enumerate in this place all the local and national institutions with which Judge Sulzberger was connected, such as the Jewish Hospital in the foundation of which his father had a most prominent part, the Young Men's Hebrew Association of which he was the first president, the Baron de Hirsch Fund of which he was a trustee since its inception, and so many others. When the American Jewish Committee was established in 1906, it was only natural that Judge Sulzberger with his wide vision and statesmanship was chosen its president, a position he held for several years. It was in this capacity that he addressed the committee on foreign affairs of the United States House of Representatives on the question of the Russian passport in a memorable speech which had much to do with the success

of the movement to abrogate the Russian Treaty. While every institution could count on his wholehearted support and coöperation, his efforts were largely concentrated on the furtherance of all the educational institutions. He was the secretary of the Maimonides College, the first rabbinical college in this country, took a leading part in the reorganization of the Jewish Theological Seminary, was trustee of Gratz College and Dropsie College and his inspiration was strongly felt in all these places of learning.

This personal influence was most pronounced in the Jewish Publication Society where as chairman of the publication committee he more than anybody else helped to shape its policies, and was to a large extent responsible for the splendid work this society has done. When the American Jewish Historical Society was founded Judge Sulzberger naturally was one of the original members and from the second year of its existence until his death belonged to its council. To the sixth meeting he contributed a paper on Jacob Henry and the Gratz family, probably based on the interesting collection of Judeo-German letters which he presented in 1915 to our society. While this paper was not published, he contributed to our *Publications* a beautiful necrology on his friend, Joseph Jacobs, with a fine appreciation and a full bibliography of his many-sided literary activities. Another necrology he devoted to his lifelong associate in public activities, William B. Hackenburg. His deep interest in our society, however, cannot by any means be gauged by these few contributions. For Judge Sulzberger fully realized the enormous importance of a careful study of the history of the Jews in our own country based on the original sources.

Sulzberger's literary activity began with his collaboration in Leeser's *Occident,* to which he contributed among others a partial translation of Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed" and of de Rossi's dictionary of Jewish scholars. True to a promise to his dying teacher, he edited this periodical

for one year after Leeser's death. The wide range and great significance of the articles which he himself contributed to this volume have been pointed out in Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen's recently published remarkable address delivered at the memorial meeting. In his address copious extracts from these articles were given. It is to be hoped that a collective volume will make these and some other papers of our late friend more accessible. Unfortunately their number is not very large since his very active life gave Sulzberger but scant leisure for literary work. They consist mostly of public addresses which this master-orator was called upon to deliver. In many instances, however, he spoke extemporaneously since he could offer original ideas on any subject in the attractive garb of the choicest English. As Joseph Jacobs once stated, he never met a man with as rich a vocabulary in English at his disposal, as Mayer Sulzberger. While he thus wrote little, he was an omnivorous reader in various languages and on the greatest variety of subjects. It is interesting to come across in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* an article of his occasioned by a paper of Bacher on a passage of a Midrash. From an out-of-the-way book on the Jews of China Sulzberger throws new light on the passage in question. Similarly, we learn from an article by Brann in the *Monatsschrift* on the descendants of Maimonides that Sulzberger sent him additional information from a MS. in his possession correcting some of his statements. We thus get an idea of the attention with which he followed up even the publications of the technical journals of Jewish learning in which one might hardly have expected him to be interested.

How vitally he was concerned with Jewish studies became evident when in the last two decades of his life he specialized in an independent and very original study of various aspects of Biblical antiquities. Four most stimulating volumes are the result of this labor of love. "The Am-Haarez, the Ancient Hebrew Parliament, a chapter in the constitutional history

of Ancient Israel" (Philadelphia, 1909), "The Polity of the Ancient Hebrews" (*ibid.*, 1912), "The Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide" (*ibid.*, 1915), and "The Status of Labor in Ancient Israel" (*ibid.*, 1923). In these books he considered difficult problems of Biblical law and constitution from a new angle. He brought the keen mind of the expert lawyer and experienced statesman to bear on these questions. He cross-examined his texts as he was wont to do with his witnesses in his legal practice and read between the lines as he did with the evidence in court proceedings. His results are often striking and surprising and reveal to us the unusual mental equipment and the penetrating method of the author. They manifest a vigor and freshness of mind which would never permit the reader to suspect the age of the writer.

While his own learned writings mainly date from the later years of his life, he always was eager to stimulate and encourage all Jewish scholarly work, particularly in this country. He realized at an early period that for a healthy development of Jewish scholarship in America a great library was indispensable. He therefore began to bring together a most remarkable collection of rare books and MSS., which became the nucleus of the present library of the Jewish Theological Seminary. He directly and indirectly influenced the growth of Jewish libraries of other institutions, particularly that of the Dropsie College and he might rightly be called the father of Jewish libraries in this country. His splendid law library he presented to his court when he resigned from the bench.

Judge Sulzberger's long and faithful life left a rich harvest which the coming generations of American Jewry will gather. His powerful personality and his mighty intellect left a strong impress not only on his home community but on the whole of American Jewry. He always upheld traditional Judaism as transmitted to him by his father, and his teacher, Isaac Leeser. He lent his voice to the oppressed and always stood for justice mitigated by mercy, for he had uncommon under-

standing of human nature and could find the good in every human being. His rare sense of humor illuminated his speech and the spark of his genius made every conversation with him a treat. With the quickness of a flash he could grasp any problem and throw new light on it from the rich store of his broad knowledge and his wide experience. He was fully alive to the progress of modern civilization, but at the same time extremely conservative in his personal habits. It is curious, for example, that this extremely busy man always wrote his letters and papers, including even the preliminary material for his books, by hand, not even availing himself of the convenience of a fountain pen. His beautiful library was a Mecca for many visitors in the most different walks of life and it was touching to observe how patiently he often listened to the abstruse exposition of some uncouth Eastern European scholar. His broadmindedness was one of his outstanding characteristics.

To those of us who were privileged to have come into closer association with him and to enjoy his personal friendship, the memory of Judge Sulzberger's radiant personality will for ever remain a source of inspiration.

He died at his home in Philadelphia, April 20, 1923.

Alexander Marx.

Louis I. Waldman.

Louis I. Waldman, of Albany, N. Y., was a good type of American citizenship. He was born in that city, March 17, 1855, and died there June 30, 1923. He attended public school, also the Albany Academy, the latter an excellent private institution. At an early age he entered the extensive dry goods business of which his father was a leading member; his tastes, however, led him in another direction and his preferences soon found him interested in the production of aniline dyes; he joined the staff of the Hudson River Aniline Works, of

which, after several years, he was the president. This organization was connected with the Elberfeld *Farbenfabrik* so he became connected with and frequently visited that important German organization.

As in many of the smaller communities of our country, Jews are identified with general communal affairs and institutions, he was a director of Albany's largest bank, a governor of its largest hospital, a member of a prominent club. He was always among the larger contributors in every public, patriotic and philanthropic movement.

He was an influential member of the Republican party as an adviser and contributor. He was a New York State delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention in 1912, and presidential elector in the same year, again having the same position in 1916 when he was designated to carry the electoral vote of New York State to Washington.

Like his father (who had been president of the Reform Congregation Beth Emeth) he was loyal and devoted to Jewish affairs and a generous contributor to its varied activities, national and local. He was one of the organizers of the Jewish Home Society of Albany, and for almost fifty years one of its board of managers. He was recognized as one of the leading citizens of the community in which he was born and lived his modest and highly respected life.

Simon W. Rosendale.

Harris Weinstock.

The untimely death of Harris Weinstock removed from active life one of California's foremost citizens, one of American Israel's outstanding personalities and one of the champions of liberty and progress in the world of commerce and economic thought.

Harris Weinstock was born in London, England, September 18, 1854, son of Solomon Weinstock and Rachel Lubin. The

following year the family migrated to America and settled in New York city, where Weinstock attended the public schools to his twelfth year. The death of his father put an end to his formal education and sent the boy to work at this early age. His first venture was as a cabin-boy to London, where he spent a year as a clerk in a mercantile establishment, returning to New York the following year in the same capacity as he had left. There in 1868 he entered a wholesale house as a clerk, where he remained till he left for California in November, 1869. He was one of the pioneers of the railroad route, as the first train entered California in June of that year.

He first obtained employment in a general store in a small town near Sacramento. In 1872 he came to San Francisco, joining his half-brother David Lubin and his widowed sister Jeannette, in conducting a small shop on Washington Street near Dupont. This was the beginning of the association of these two remarkable men, whose joint and separate careers are among the outstanding facts of California Jewry of the past generation.

Lubin first left the San Francisco store and opened a small shop in Sacramento, where Weinstock joined him in 1876. It was a modest establishment, known as the Mechanic's Store. It was the forerunner of the famous Weinstock and Lubin Company, which was incorporated in 1888. Ordinarily the business life of the subject of a necrology is of little significance. But Weinstock and Lubin were animated by what was then a new ideal in the business world. Both were under the spell of what must have then seemed to be a radical business policy, strictly one price, absolute justice to the purchaser and a square deal to their employees. In 1903 Weinstock founded the Barbara Weinstock lectureship in the Morals of Trade at the University of California to give form to the ideas and ideals which had animated him and Lubin in their commercial career and to encourage similar work among industrial and

commercial institutions. The firm opened a branch store in San Francisco in 1897 which was operated till 1911, when its affairs were wound up and their efforts concentrated upon the Sacramento establishment.

In 1908 on Weinstock's withdrawal from active participation in the firm, he established the firm of Weinstock-Nichols in San Francisco, dealers in automobile supplies, of which he was president till the time of his death. He was also vice-president of the Weinstock-Lubin Real Estate Company and director in the National Bank of D. O. Mills of Sacramento and of the Sacramento Valley Trust Co.

In 1878 he married Barbara Felsenthal, a relative of Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal of Chicago. Four children blessed their union,—two daughters, Alice, now Mrs. Burton Towne of Lodi, Cal., and Helen, now Mrs. Samuel Frankenheimer of Stockton, Cal., and two sons, Robert and Walter, both of San Francisco.

In 1881 Weinstock joined the National Guard of California, working his way up to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1895. In 1883 he helped form the Critic Club of Sacramento, a small group of earnest thinkers who met frequently for the discussion of papers prepared by one of their number. He never ceased being a great student and had a great passion for writing. He published two books: in 1902 "Jesus the Jew," a series of essays on religious and economic themes, and in 1909 "Strikes and Lockouts," the results of his world tour as special commissioner of the governor of California to investigate these matters. He was also a frequent contributor to the general press, and was the author of numerous bits of apologetics on behalf of the Jew and of Judaism.

In 1887 he held his first public office, being appointed a member of the board of trustees of the state library. In 1891 he was elected a member of the board of freeholders of his city and helped prepare the new charter for the city govern-

ment. In 1895 he was appointed a member of the State Board of Horticulture of which he remained an active member till 1907. In 1903 he helped to organize and became the first president of the Commonwealth Club of California, which had its headquarters in San Francisco, and was one of the members of the San Francisco Economic Club during the brief period of its existence. In this connection mention must be made of his many activities as a mediator in strikes as well as his appointment in 1912 by Governor Hiram Johnson to investigate the I. W. W. troubles in San Diego, where the matter of free assembly and free speech were involved. He was for many years a member of the executive board of the National Civic Federation. He was one of the first to be interested in Professor Elwood Meade's plan for land colonization and in the whole subject of marketing to which he gave several years of his busy life. In 1908 he was appointed special commissioner by Governor Gillette to investigate labor conditions the world over, the fruit of which was not only a world of experience for himself, but the book referred to above.

In 1913 he was selected by Governor Hiram Johnson as a member of the American commission to study European systems of rural credits, of which commission he became vice-president. In June, 1913, he was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson a member of the Industrial Relations Commission and in September of the same year by Governor Johnson a member of the Industrial Accident Commission of California. In 1915 he was appointed by Governor Johnson as a member of the Rural Credit Commission, with which he remained until his death. In 1915 he was also made state market director, to which post he was again appointed by Governor Stephens in 1917. It was characteristic of the man that he used his position not to establish free markets, but, going to the very bottom of the whole situation, directed his efforts towards the organization of producers, so as to improve the whole marketing situation at its source. He resigned

from this position after six years of strenuous service in 1921. Weinstock was greatly interested in politics and was one of the closest friends and advisers of Governor Hiram Johnson. He was active in the affairs of the Republican party and later of the Progressive movement. At one time he was mentioned as candidate for governor, but because of personal reasons, declined to stand for the office.

His Jewish interests were deep and broad. For many years he was president of the synagogue in Sacramento and frequently during the intervals of having a rabbinical leader he occupied the pulpit, conducted the service and preached the sermons. He was a close friend of the late J. Leonard Levy, for whose coming to America he was directly responsible, and keenly interested in the work of Joseph Krauskopf's farm school. He was one of the vice-presidents of the Jewish Publication Society, a governor of the Hebrew Union College, trustee of Temple Emanu-El of San Francisco, where he made his home since 1908, a member of the American Jewish Historical Society and a generous contributor to Jewish and non-sectarian philanthropies. He took charge of two of the drives for the American Jewish Relief Committee, once as chairman for San Francisco, and a second time as chairman for the state, where his wide acquaintance and popularity made him especially effective.

He met his death as the result of an accident, being thrown from his horse while riding with his granddaughter and died in Palo Alto Hospital, August 22, 1922.

MARTIN A. MEYER.

SIMON WOLF.

Simon Wolf, who went to his eternal reward on June 4, 1923, in his eighty-seventh year, was often aptly described as the spokesman of the Jews of the United States at Washington, so completely did he identify himself with the protection

of the rights of his coreligionists at our national capital for over sixty years. He was born in Hinzweiler, Rheinish-Bavaria, Germany, October 28, 1836, and accompanied his grandparents to the United States in the memorable year 1848. His father Levi Wolf (1811-1893), long an invalid, was a teacher of Hebrew, and it was doubtless from him that the young lad acquired his fondness for learning, and the Jewish faith, and the unquenchable love for literature and the arts which never left him. But it was to his devoted mother Amalia Ulman, that he was particularly fond of expressing his indebtedness. His grandfather Benjamin Wolf settled in Cleveland, and it was there and soon afterwards in Uhrichsville, Ohio, that the young boy acquired the rudiments of an English education, soon followed by service as salesman and bookkeeper in the store of his uncles, Abraham and Elias Wolf. His love for professional life and learning, however, induced him in 1859 to read law in the office of Judge Hance of New Philadelphia, and to attend the Cleveland Law School, from which he graduated with honors, and he was admitted to the Ohio bar on July 19, 1861. Bad eye-sight caused his rejection when he volunteered to serve his country on the battlefield, and after practising law in Ohio, and marrying Caroline Hahn of Suffield, in 1857, he moved to Washington, D. C., in June, 1862. An interesting document lies before me, dated Cleveland, August 7, 1861, signed by a committee of three, headed by Benjamin F. Peixotto, expressing regrets on behalf of the local Young Men's Hebrew Literary Society at Simon Wolf's departure from Cleveland at the close of his law course, and he had then already actively identified himself with the political and Jewish religious interests of the place of his sojourn. In fact, even prior thereto he had been prominent in political affairs, and was alternate at the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic National Conventions of 1860, having identified himself with the Northern or Douglas wing of that party. Soon after he became an active Republican by reason

of developments of the slavery and union questions. While practising law in Washington, he soon became Washington representative of important Jewish national organizations, particularly of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, merged in 1878 with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, and it was chiefly to communal interests that he devoted his time unceasingly and unstintingly in Washington for so many decades. His masterly oratory was requisitioned into service in every national political campaign from 1868 to 1900, and during a still larger span of years he served as a member of the presidential inaugural exercises committees. In 1869 President Grant appointed him Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, which post he held until 1878. In July, 1881, President Garfield selected him to be Consul General to Egypt, the most important diplomatic post theretofore held by a professing Jew, but he resigned the office about a year later, owing to illness in his family. For his coreligionists in Egypt, his appointment seemed to be a revival of the days of Joseph. Previous to his Egyptian mission, he had been appointed a Justice in the District of Columbia, and for many years he served as a member of the Board of Charities and of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia.

Simon Wolf was active in causing General Benjamin F. Butler to modify his offensive reference to Jews in an official war despatch, was one of a group to induce President Lincoln to rescind General Grant's famous Order No. 11 of 1862, excluding Jewish civilians as a class from the army lines, and in giving publicity to Grant's own explanation that he had no personal participation in the issuance of the order. In November, 1864, he published in the *New York Evening Post* a widely reprinted, conclusive "Defence of the Jewish Race" against unjustified criticisms born of prejudice, improperly identifying the Jews with the Confederate cause.

With President Grant Simon Wolf's relations were particularly close. When in April, 1869, early in Grant's administration, the President decided to appoint Simon Wolf Recorder of the District of Columbia, the latter was at first disposed to decline an appointment taking him away from his professional activities as a lawyer, but after he ascertained that confirmation of the appointment was being opposed because of his Jewish faith, he announced his desire to accept, fought the battle on this very issue, and with the assistance of Hannibal Hamlin, John W. Patterson, Carl Schurz and John A. Bingham, secured unanimous confirmation. It was during Grant's administration that the persecution of the Jews in Roumania became acute, and Simon Wolf was the leading advocate of the appointment of Benjamin F. Peixotto as Consul at Bucharest, with a particular view to devising plans to ameliorate their condition. On behalf of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, Wolf stumped the country several times, aroused interest in this question and collected large sums of money in aid of Peixotto's undertaking. During the same administration, largely through Wolf's influence, the Independent Order B'nai B'rith raised moneys for the presentation of Moses Ezekiel's statue of Religious Liberty standing in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, in commemoration of the first centenary of the republic. One of the earliest separately published addresses of Simon Wolf that has come under my notice was a memorial to Isaac Leeser, published in 1868, though the unceasing demands on his oratorical gifts is evidenced by the publication in pamphlet form, already in 1863, of an address before the Washington Literacy and Dramatic Association; and in 1868, too, a further address entitled "Random Thoughts" appeared as delivered before the Washington Lodge of the I. O. B. B.

Simon Wolf all his life was a devoted Jew, and never begrudged any of his time and efforts when he could serve his beloved ancestral faith, or any other worthy cause appeal-

ing to him, the name of which was indeed legion. He served the Washington Jewish Congregation repeatedly as president, and often preached from its pulpit. Thoroughly imbued with the value of organization and union, he was an early and untiring ally of Isaac M. Wise in founding and maintaining the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and was always active at its biennial conventions, sometimes as presiding officer. It was upon his motion that the Board of Delegates of American Israelites—in which he had long been active—was merged in 1878 with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and he was the untiring and indefatigable chairman of the board of delegates on civil rights of that body for over thirty-three years, so that its history was really simply a narrative of Simon Wolf's public activities. No subject arose, from 1870 to 1923, affecting the interest of American Jews, in which he was not active, and if, in a rare instance, he was not directly appealed to by those immediately concerned, the Government itself would call him into counsel, so well-known was his devotion to Jewish interests, good judgment and sterling American patriotism.

His activities on behalf of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, which he joined in 1865, were scarcely less pronounced than for the Board of Delegates, and many of his actions were undertaken in their joint behalf, as he was the Washington resident member of that organization for about sixty years, presided over its Constitution Grand Lodge in 1874 and 1879, served as president of his district for two terms and was president of the organization (1904-05) as successor to Leo N. Levi. Almost alone, he collected $150,000 for establishing the Atlanta Hebrew Orphan Asylum, which he founded and of which he was president for over a quarter of a century, and he was also one of the founders of the Baltimore Orphan Asylum. Scarcely less conspicuous were his services to the Masons of the United States, to the Order Kesher Shel Barzel, to the Red Cross Association and to German and non-sectarian Washington charities.

Reference has been made to his services in securing the appointment of Peixotto to champion Roumanian Jewish amelioration on behalf of our Government. Long after Peixotto had passed away, Simon Wolf worked day in and day out for the emancipation of the Roumanian Jew, and he was one of the small group that induced President Roosevelt to despatch the famous Hay note to Roumania, and ultimately to interest President Wilson in plans for protecting Jewish religious minorities in Roumania by the treaty of peace which ended the Great War.

His services on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Russia were even more arduous and incessant. They began early in Grant's second administration, when he attended a meeting of the Cabinet, called to devise alleviatory measures for the Jews of Bessarabia, whose expulsion from Russian territory was then imminent.

Simon Wolf's efforts to right the wrong of Russia's discrimination against American passports when borne by Jews through appeals to President, State Department and Congressional committees, were incessant. In 1903 when Leo N. Levi conceived the plan of having our Government submit the Kishineff massacre petition to Russia, Simon Wolf was one of the leading factors in inducing President Roosevelt to forward the petition, and it was to him that Secretary Hay, under date of June 24, 1903, wrote the formal official communication, asking for delivery of the petition for transmittal to Russia. When, during President Taft's administration, Louis Marshall, Jacob H. Schiff and their associates concluded that the abrogation of the dishonored Russian passport treaty was the only remaining alternative, Simon Wolf was one of the conferees the President turned to for advice on February 15, 1911. His " Presidents I Have Known " gives the ablest extant report of the movement which culminated in this abrogation, as also the incident of the Kishineff massacre petition. It should, moreover, be remembered that until the American

Jewish Committee was formed in 1906, the board of delegates, under Simon Wolf's chairmanship for decades had been the only official Jewish body representing the Jews of our country with respect to protection of civil and religious rights, and his activities did not abate, when the new organization was formed.

Simon Wolf's services in championing the absolute separation of church and state and opposing all infringements upon religious liberty were untiring. They embraced movements against governmental classification of Hebrews as such, the use of the Bible and other sectarian instruction in the public schools, and discrimination against his coreligionists in public offices and institutions, as well as all efforts to organize a Jewish vote on any civic issue. His complete identification with his beloved country, and his firm acceptance of Reform Judaism also made him a strong opponent of political Zionism till his dying day. On the other hand, little appealed to him more than the need for religious education for American Jews and the promotion of congregational needs.

It is, however, as the champion and best friend of the immigrant that Simon Wolf is likely to be best remembered, and when a wide-scaled celebration of his eightieth birthday took place in 1916, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society tendered to him a banquet in New York, and devoted its December, 1916, *Bulletin* entirely to an account thereof, It was there pointed out that he had been instrumental in preventing no fewer than 103,000 Jewish immigrants from being deported from our shores and enabled to become worthy and self-supporting Americans. In fact, it was largely due to Simon Wolf, aided in later years by Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall and a few others, that American Jews ardently espoused the policy of the open door for their persecuted European brethren, and did not follow the dictates of self-interest and the line of least resistance, based on an English Jewish precedent of 1771, and concur in efforts to exclude them

from our land of promise. In 1891 he secured from Secretary Foster one of the ablest state-papers we have, justifying the admission of the Russian religious refugee, counting on the assistance of relatives and friends here for temporary maintenance, and thereby kept the door open to the Russian Jewish refugee, and a decade later, an important ruling that persons dependent on private charity are not public charges. Able and convincing arguments were made by him, on behalf of the immigrant, before the Industrial Commission of 1891 and the Immigration Commission of 1910, and before well-nigh innumerable Congressional committees. He it was who led the movement for the Federal legislation which compelled the steamship companies, under heavy penalties, to examine the immigrants along medical lines abroad before embarkation, so that they should not close their eyes to obvious excluding defects, in order to fill their own coffers.

Amidst all his other pursuits, Simon Wolf found time for important historical and literary labors, and numerous contributions to the press. To him we owe an important study in American Jewish history, published in 1895 under the title "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen." Here single-handed, he attempted a task which scores jointly would have hesitated to undertake, namely, a systematic examination of the army rolls of all our states, as well as those of the navy, followed up by careful confirmation, with the result that he was able to publish, alphabetically arranged under state divisions, the names of over 8000 Jewish soldiers of the Civil War, establishing Jewish participation far beyond their quota on a population basis. The work was supplemented by interesting accounts of Jewish patriotism on the battlefield and in civic life, covering our entire national history, as well as a valuable compilation of characterizations of Jewish contributions to civilization by distinguished non-Jews; the proceeds of the sale of the work were devoted to his favorite charity, the Atlanta Jewish Orphans' Home. An

active member and executive councillor of the American Jewish Historical Society from its organization in 1892, he published interesting biographies of Mordecai M. Noah and Commodore Uriah P. Levy. His autobiography, "The Presidents I Have Known from 1860 to 1918," which has been cited, appeared five years before his death, and is invaluable for the student of American Jewish history in describing some of the most important incidents in which Simon Wolf figured.

Enthusiastic, untiring and mentally vigorous until carried off in his eighty-seventh year, few careers can challenge comparison with his for continuing beneficence and ceaseless activity. To the loving care of his second wife, Amy Lichtenstein, a niece of his intimate associate, Julius Bien, whom he married November 3, 1892, is largely due much of his activity during the last few decades of his life. There were born to him, by his first marriage, children who themselves achieved distinction: Adolph Grant Wolf, Judge of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico since 1904; Florence W. Gotthold, a distinguished artist, Helen W. Cohen, wife of his long-time partner and associate Myer Cohen, and May V. Wolf.

Max J. Kohler.

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CONSTITUTION.

Name.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

Objects.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

Members.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a patron of the Society by paying the sum of fifty dollars a year in fees; and transfers, on request, may be made from regular membership to the class of patrons. Patrons shall have all the rights and privileges of members.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Executive Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

Officers.

IV. The officers shall be a President, four or more Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society. The additional members of the Executive Council shall be elected as provided in and by Section 3 of Article II of the By-Laws of the Society.

Council.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

Amendments.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

BY-LAWS.

Article I.

MEMBERS.

Section 1. The dues of members of the Society, including those elected between the 1st day of October and the 1st day of April in a fiscal year, shall be payable annually on the 1st day of October for said fiscal year in advance. Those joining as members between the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in a fiscal year shall at such time pay dues only for the current half-year, proportionately, and thereafter shall pay full yearly dues in advance on the 1st day of October in each year.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall extend and include from the 1st day of October to the 30th day of September next ensuing in each calendar year.

Section 3. The President and the Corresponding Secretary, whenever the Society or its Executive Council is not in session, shall have the power to act upon applications for membership in the Society.

Section 4. Members whose dues are more than one year in arrear on the 1st day of October, at the opening of a new fiscal year, shall not be entitled to receive such publications as the Society may thereafter issue until and unless such dues in arrears shall have been fully liquidated.

Article II.

OFFICERS, ETC.

Section 1. The term for which officers of the Society shall be chosen is one year and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified.

Section 2. Vacancies occurring in the term of any officer of the Society shall be filled by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof, for the remainder of said term.

Section 3. The term for which additional members of the Executive Council of the Society shall be chosen is three years

and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified. At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society twelve additional members of the Executive Council shall be chosen, of whom four shall hold office as such for one year, four for two years, and four for three years, in accordance with the action of the Society at such annual meeting. The successors of each of said additional members of the Executive Council shall thereafter hold office as hereinbefore first provided.

Section 4. Vacancies occurring in the term of any additional member of the Executive Council of the Society shall be filled, until the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof. At the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, such vacancies shall be filled by election by the Society for the remainder of said original term.

Article III.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Executive Council, fix the time and place for holding the meetings of the latter, appoint the members of all committees when not named in resolutions, fill vacancies therein, and add to the membership thereof when requested so to do by the chairmen thereof. He shall have a general supervision of the Society and be *ex officio* a member of all committees.

Section 2. In case of the death, resignation or inability of the President to perform his duties, his functions and powers shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of seniority respectively. If the President and all the Vice-Presidents shall be absent from any meeting of the Society or its Executive Council, a chairman *pro tempore* shall be chosen for such meeting by the members present thereat.

Section 3. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the Seal, Charter, Constitution, By-Laws and records of the Society and certify or attest all instruments from the Society. He shall issue all notices of meetings, and notify all members of their election and of such other matters as may be directed by the Society, the Executive Council or the President. He shall receive, duly file and safely keep all papers,

reports and documents, other than those appertaining to the Treasurer and the Curator, belonging to the Society, and at each meeting of the Society or the Executive Council report such letters and communications, as far as practicable, as he may have received since the time of his previous report. He shall distribute the minutes of meetings of the Executive Council among the members thereof within two weeks after each meeting has been held, and generally perform such other duties for the Society's business and development as may be necessary, proper and requisite.

Section 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep fair and accurate records of the minutes of each meeting of the Society and its Executive Council, and promptly transmit the same, after each has adjourned, to the Corresponding Secretary.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive, collect and hold subject to the order of the Executive Council all moneys, securities and other valuable papers of the Society, deposit all moneys in one or more banks or trust companies in the City of New York or elsewhere, approved by the Executive Council, pay all bills when the same are accompanied by vouchers drawn, signed and approved by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly, and render a financial report at each regular annual meeting of the Society and each meeting of the Executive Council. On the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in each fiscal year he shall send bills for unpaid dues to the members of the Society, and shall notify the Corresponding Secretary of all changes and terminations in the membership of the Society. He shall notify the Corresponding Secretary on the 1st days of March and November in each fiscal year of all the members who on such dates shall be in arrears for dues, and the amounts of such arrearages.

Section 6. The Curator, under the direction of the Executive Council, shall have charge and superintendence of the library and collections of the Society, and the care and arrangement of the books, manuscripts and other articles belonging to the Society. He shall cause to be prepared and kept to date a proper catalogue and list of the same, and shall acknowledge the receipt of accessions donated to the Society. He shall expend in the purchase of books and other articles, and for their safekeeping and preservation, such sums of money, with the approbation of the Executive Council or the President, as shall from time to time be appropriated for the purpose, and render proper vouchers therefor to

the Executive Council. He shall make a full report, at each regular annual meeting of the Society, on the condition and progress of the library and the collections of the Society.

Article IV.

MEETINGS.

Section 1. There shall be held not less than two stated meetings of the Executive Council in each fiscal year. Written notice thereof shall be sent to each member of the Executive Council at least two weeks in advance thereof.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Executive Council shall be called upon the written request of at least five members thereof.

Section 3. Six members of the Executive Council shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 4. Fifteen members of the Society shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 5. Nothing herein contained shall operate to prevent the Society or its Executive Council from voting upon any proposition laid before either or both by mail.

Article V.

COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The following standing committees, namely: on publication, finance, and audit, shall be appointed by the President at the regular annual meeting of the Society, or within thirty days after the termination thereof, to hold office until their successors are appointed.

Section 2. The committee on publication shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members, who must be officers of the Society or additional members of its Executive Council. It shall have charge of preparing, editing and issuing the publications of the Society, and has the authority by delegation from the Executive Council to determine what papers shall be published.

Section 3. The committee on finance shall consist of at least three members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one, all of whom shall be members of the Executive Council. It shall have charge

of the investments of the Society, with full power to make or alter any such in its discretion, and shall supervise and foster the permanent fund of the Society. Investments of the funds of the Society shall be limited to such as are lawful for savings banks and trustees in the State of New York, pursuant to the laws thereof made and provided from time to time.

Section 4. The committee on audit shall consist of two members. Its duty shall be to audit and examine the Treasurer's accounts and the vouchers thereunto appertaining and to report the result of its examination to the President or the Executive Council.

Section 5. A special committee on local arrangements shall be appointed to consist of not less than three nor more than five members of the Society, preferably residing in the locality at which each annual meeting of the Society takes place. Its duty shall be to care for and supervise all the details of the local arrangements for such annual meeting, including the edifice in which the same shall be held.

Section 6. A special committee on nominations shall be appointed to consist of not less than two nor more than five members of the Society, and no candidate for office shall be debarred therefrom by reason of his membership of this committee. Its duty shall be to report a list of nominees as officers and additional members of the Executive Council of the Society for election at the annual meetings of the Society.

Section 7. The right to make additional nominations from the floor at the annual meetings of the Society on the part of any duly-qualified member thereof is not abridged in any way by the provisions of Section 6 hereof.

Section 8. A special committee on programme shall be appointed to consist of three members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one. Its duty shall be to prepare and suitably print and distribute the programme of each annual meeting of the Society. It shall endeavor to secure appropriate publicity therefor, and shall have the right to determine the fitness and availability of papers to be submitted at such annual meetings, and the determination of the time to be allotted to each for presentation thereat.

Section 9. Special committees shall be appointed by the President pursuant to resolution of the Society or its Executive Council.

Article VI.

FUNDS.

Section 1. The permanent fund of the Society shall consist of the donations or bequests made to it, the payments received from members for life, and the interest and accumulations of the same. It shall not be drawn against except by and with the approval of the Executive Council by a formal vote to that end. The permanent fund shall be kept and used primarily to further research work in which the Society as such may be interested.

Section 2. The President shall have power at any time to authorize the payment of a sum or sums, not exceeding fifty dollars in the aggregate, in a single instance, out of the general fund of the Society, for the purpose of subventioning research work of any nature approved by him.

Section 3. The publication fund of the Society, as at present constituted, shall be employed so far as possible to defray the cost of the publications issued by the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Section 4. The general fund of the Society shall be employed to defray the current running expenses of the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Article VII.

SEAL.

Section 1. The seal of the Society shall consist of the following design: In the field a scroll on the face of which appear the words (in Hebrew), זכר ימות עולם, and on the circumference, American Jewish Historical Society.

Article VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any annual meeting of the Society, notice of such amendment having been given in the printed programme of such meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

Section 2. To entitle a proposed amendment to these by-laws to be included in the programme of an annual meeting of the Society, it must be formulated in writing, signed by not less than five members of the Society, communicated to the Corresponding Secretary not less than sixty days before the date of the annual meeting of the Society at which action thereon is contemplated, and notified to the members of the Society not less than ten days before the annual meeting thereof.

LIST OF MEMBERS.[1]

Honorary Member.

Hon. William Howard Taft, Chief Justice of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Corresponding Members.

Dr. Israel Abrahams, M. A., 11 St. Barnabas Road, Cambridge, England.

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Prof. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin, Universidad Central, Velasquez 18, Madrid, Spain.

Prof. George Lincoln Burr, President White Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

William Vincent Byars, Temple Building, St. Louis, Mo.

Frank Cundall, F. S. A., Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica, B. W. I.

Dr. A. Freimann, Stadtbibliothek, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

Rev. Dr. Moses Gaster, Haham, 193 Maida Vale, W., London, England.

Rev. Prof. Dr. Sir Hermann Gollancz, 12 Clifton Gardens, Maida Hill, W., London, England.

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J. M. Hillesum, care Rosenthal Library, University, Amsterdam, Holland.

Archer M. Huntington, 15 W. 81st Street, New York.

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Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

Dr. K. Kohler, 2 W. 88th Street, New York.

Grand Rabbin Israël Lévi, 54 Rue La Bruyère, Paris, France.

Prof. Raphaël Georges Levy, 3 Rue de Noisiel, 16e, Paris, France.

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[1] This list is corrected to February 15, 1925. Kindly notify the corresponding secretary of all errors and changes therein.

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Sigmund Seeligmann, Nic. Witsenstraat 7, Amsterdam, Holland.
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Louis Samter Levy, 120 Broadway, New York.
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Hon. Oscar S. Straus, LL. D., 5 W. 76th Street, New York.

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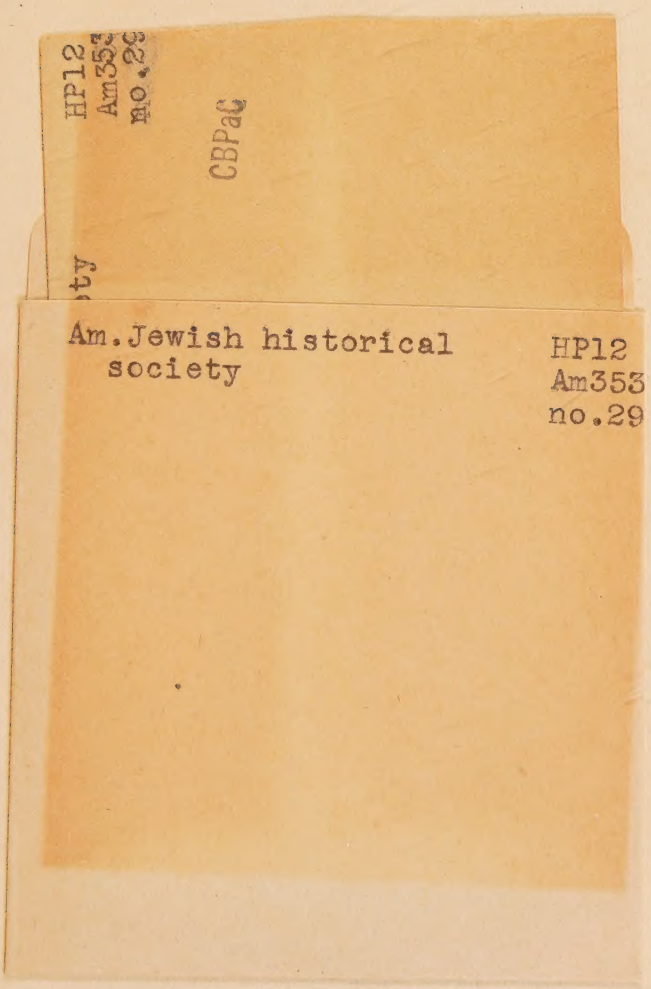

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